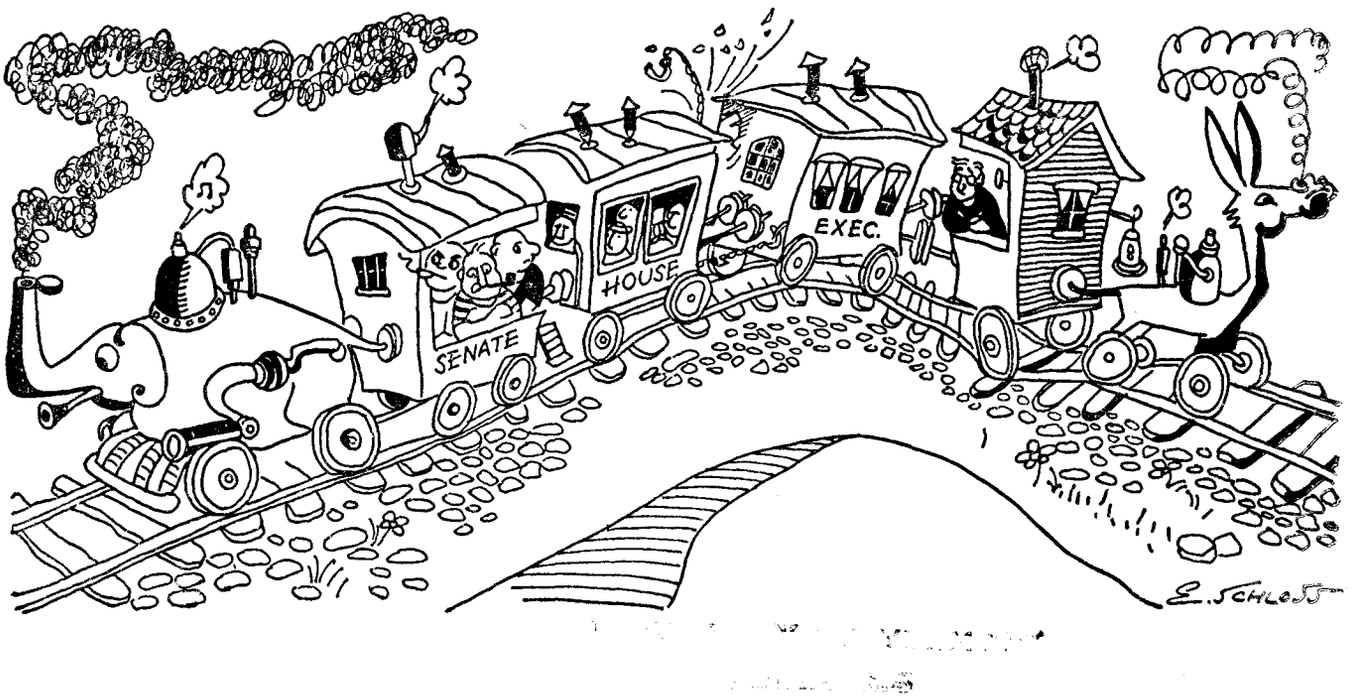
New Republic

November 25, 1946 • Fifteen Cents



Life Under the Republicans

How Soon Will Prices Fall?

Getting Tough with Peron

UN: The Trusteeship Battle

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 115, NO. 21 NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1946 NUMBER 1669

Cold Front Moving In

Trouble in Coal

Washington

A TROUBLED John L. Lewis plodded slowly down a narrow corridor of the Interior Department on Thursday afternoon. His lieutenants, husky men with big hands, walked respectfully three paces before and behind him.

They were moving into a conference with Secretary of the Interior "Cap" Krug, and the fight of John Lewis' stormy career. Lewis' black hat was pulled low over his face. He looked neither to one side nor the other. There was none of the majesty and contempt he showed so plainly as he strutted in and out of the White House last spring. Not even a rumbled quip to reporters, or a cold gaze into the photographers' cameras.

A few days before the election, Lewis had risked a bold gamble. He threatened to call a coal strike unless the government reopened its contract with the United Mine Workers to discuss wages and working conditions. The Administration was divided. Krug insisted there was no provision for reopening in the agreement signed at the White House in the spring. He wanted to call the bluff and fight it out once and for all.

The White House paused, undecided. What effect would a coal strike have on the elections? Reconversion Director John Steelman boomed into the President's ear that he thought he could get Lewis to hold off the strike if the government would reopen the contract. That was the deal.

Then came November 5—and the conservative tide.

This Monday, President Truman gave his post-election policy to a crowded room of correspondents. Bill Simmons, the White House usher, motioned the latecomers over toward the garden door. He very carefully did not say, as he did two weeks before, "Gentlemen, move over to the left." Harry Truman read his "unity" statement like a schoolboy reciting a lesson. The upshot of it was that he would follow the trend of the election results.

Lewis seemed to understand this, as he sat in the Interior Department conference room on Thursday. In the morning, Krug had conferred with the mine operators. This was not good news for Lewis. For, if the mines were returned to their owners, the generous contract received from the government would be cut to pieces. Ed Burke, the tough ex-Senator now representing the Southern operators, was adamant against the welfare-fund clause in the contract.

Early Friday afternoon, the story broke wide open with dramatic swiftness. First was a statement from the White House. The contract would not be reopened. The mines should be returned to the operators. Lewis had refused to accept a government proposal for a 60-day strike moratorium. The statement was written by Truman's new top adviser, Clark Clifford, the self-confident and handsome St. Louis lawyer. John Steelman bowed to the decision.

Several blocks away in the United Mine Workers' yellow-brick mansion, a lieutenant gruffly gave out Lewis' reply, "The contract is terminated." That meant a strike Wednesday. But there was not the usual aggressive sureness in this ultimatum.

John Lewis will have to think hard for a way out this time.

Up Ten More

Washington

AS PRICE CONTROLS were removed last week, headlines reported soap up 50 percent; a jump in linseed oil from 16 to 35 cents; cotton linters (used in mattresses) up 30 percent; General Motors cars up $100, their refrigerators up about 12 percent; parking-lot fees up 30 percent; laundry prices raised 10 percent; farm implements and tractors up nine percent; copper, zinc, lead and tin prices zooming.

Also on the price escalator were washing machines (General Electric boosted its prices on this line 30 percent), radios, floor coverings, rayon, wool, building materials and household appliances.

Although price rises were fairly general and spectacular, business as a whole took a rather cautious attitude toward shoving already inflated prices much higher. Since July 1, when effective controls died, prices have raced upwards. In such cases as butter, they went as high as the peaks reached in the post-World War I inflation.

However, signs that there may be a change in the present flood tide were noted by some government economists in Washington. One important school of opinion pondered the decision of US Steel not to raise prices, severe consumer resistance in some lines, especially meat, heavy inventories, declining department-store sales, the uncertainty and downward plunge of the stock market, the drop in cotton, fur and corn prices. From these indicators and the fact that business in general appears to be worried about the possi-

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bility of pricing itself out of the market, these government economists look forward to further heavy price rises in only a few, very scarce commodities, with the rise in the cost of living held to an additional eight or 10 percent between now and next June. These estimates take into account an anticipated rise in rents of 10 or 15 percent.

To the consumer, already stretched like a rubber band, this was little comfort. In the face of heavy food, clothing, fuel and housing costs, he was planning to make the old furniture, car, refrigerator or washing machine do for an extra year. The automatic dishwasher-drier advertised by Gimbels at $224 was out of the reach of most housewives' eager hands, which would continue to stay in the nation's dishpans. Mass production at prices that consumers could afford was still a long way off.

Puerto Rican Land

Washington

THE Supreme Court last week probably put an end to attempts by US sugar interests to frustrate Puerto Rico's land-reform program by refusing to review the case of Eastern Sugar Associates, one of the "big four" in Puerto Rican sugar. Eastern Sugar had hoped to get back some 3,000 acres which the Island's government expropriated last year and also to protect another 31,000 acres which it holds illegally in Puerto Rico. The decision handed down was the last in a long series of litigations brought by sugar interests, which face a militant, progressive government in Puerto Rico, inching ahead steadily with a land program, set up in 1941, to provide family-size and "proportional-profit" farms for landless *agregados*.

The Land Authority was set up to enforce the long neglected 500-acre limitation on corporate holdings which was part of the Island's first US-made regulations in 1900. A succession of half-bought, half-ignorant insular legislatures (with no little aid from Washington) had buried the "500-acre law" until Munoz Marin's progressive Popular Party swept them out of office in 1940. Marin set up the Land Authority to do a real redistribution job. Nagged at every step by legal quarrels, the Land Authority has, in effect, now been given a go-ahead signal. An estimated $80 million worth of "excess" lands remain in the hands of corporations in Puerto Rico.

For Sale $12,000

Washington

WILSON W. WYATT, the housing expediter, soon will go to President Truman with new proposals for shoring up the badly damaged veterans' emergency-housing program. Removal of price controls on building materials last week knocked out one of the important measures Wyatt was relying on to hold down building costs. While the revised Wyatt program still is in the formative stages, it now seems likely that the housing expediter will be forced to raise the present $10,000 top limit on new home prices.

First reports since decontrol indicate sharp rises in millwork, bathtubs and other scarce materials. Only small increases are expected on brick and some of the other materials which now are coming into fairly good supply. Over a longer period of time, government economists predict that the general rise in building-material prices will amount to about 30 percent. This would run construction costs up about 15 percent. If further studies substantiate the predicted 15-percent increase, Wyatt is expected to recommend that the top limit on new home prices be pushed up to around $12,000 in high-cost areas. In low-cost areas, every effort will be made to hold to the present $10,000 top.

Even $10,000 is above the pocketbook range of the vast majority of veterans. At $12,000, few veterans will be able to build. Wyatt now recognizes that homes will have to be provided for them in some other way. The housing expediter had hoped that a new industrialized housing industry, using modern factory methods, might produce good houses for $6,000 or $7,000. However, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is refusing to provide the full financing that apparently is necessary to get the new industry started, and most of the factory-built-housing plans are being stalemated.

Step number two in Wyatt's revised plan therefore will probably call for increasing the construction of rental housing. The housing expediter and his advisers now are seeking ways in which this may be accomplished.

Up Allen's Alley

Washington

WILSON WYATT is having trouble with George Allen's RFC, which must execute the market-guarantee contracts and may also make loans to housing producers. Allen does not want to make a loan to the Lustron Corporation of Chicago, which proposes to make 30,000 enamel-steel houses in 1947. He says the Lustron company is not a good business risk. Wyatt retorts that this is not a matter of a business loan, but of a housing emergency.

Complication: It is revealed that Allen is on the board of directors of two aircraft firms which are about to go into production on aluminum houses.

Too Much Blue

New York City

AFTER A WEEK of tentative skirmishing to get the range and set their sights, last Wednesday the Big Four Foreign Ministers locked forces and prepared to give battle over the first of the three major issues—Trieste, the Danube, reparations—which must be settled before the peace treaties with Germany's five satellites can be concluded. This was the problem of the terms under which the proposed Free Territory (under the protection of the United Nations Security Council) would be governed. More particularly, what should be the powers of the Security Council-appointed Governor vis-à-vis the elected legislative Assembly and the Council of Government formed from it.

In their first week's meetings at the Waldorf-Astoria the Ministers leafed rapidly through the five fat blue-and-white treaty documents representing the conclusions of their previous sessions and of the 21-nation Paris Conference (white pages for agreed clauses, blue pages for Conference recommendations not agreed by the Council) and discovered what they had known all along, that they still disagreed on practically everything on which they had not agreed before.

At the weekend they were thrown into some confusion by the reports of the Tito-Togliatti negotiations, which seemed to hold out some hope that the Italians and Yugoslavs might be able to

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get together and settle the problems of their common frontiers and the future of Trieste amiably between themselves. But though Byrnes, Bevin, Molotov and Couve de Murville each received a communication from Italian Foreign Minister Nenni expressing Italy's "keen interest" in the possibility of such bilateral negotiations, for some reason which was not very apparent to anybody they decided to by-pass the question of replying to the Italian note and to go on wrestling with those problems themselves.

They agreed rather vaguely that they would stick by their agreement of July 3 on the so-called "French line" as the Italo-Yugoslav-Free Territory frontier, and then on Wednesday ran head-on into their first brick wall—how Trieste should be governed under the internationalization plan. At that meeting Molotov put forward 13 separate amendments to the draft statute which, based on a French resolution, had been voted down 16 to 6 by the Paris Conference, the Soviet group in the minority.

The most vital of these amendments centered round Paragraphs 8 and 9 of the draft statute, which define the powers of the Governor, and the sense of them was to restrict and diminish the powers and authority of the Governor and expand those of the elected Assembly, especially as these related to control over the civil police and internal-security forces. Molotov also wanted the appointment of the first Governor and the interim provisional government given to the Council of Foreign Ministers rather than to the Security Council, as in the Paris draft, and a time limit set for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Free Territory, a matter which in the Paris text was left to the discretion of the Security Council.

At succeeding meetings, Byrnes, Bevin and Couve de Murville all disagreed, more or less forcibly, with Molotov's proposals, and at the week's end they had decided to go into "informal session"—by which they mean taking only two advisers each into the Council instead of the usual ten or a dozen—and seeing if in the smaller gathering they could find any common ground.

Most observers didn't seem to think that the portents looked any too hopeful.

Fat Profits

Washington

PROFIT REPORTS for the third quarter of 1946 indicate that the combination of high prices and high production is providing American industry with what may turn out to be its best year in history. The figures point to the fact that in spite of the hullabaloo raised over price ceilings, most of the US businesses which have not been tied up with costly strikes could sell on much narrower profit margins and continue to make better-than-average profits.

In the auto and electrical-equipment industries, profits still were running far behind last year because of reconversion delays and last spring's strikes. But other segments of industry more than made up for these losses by profits which run in some cases 50 percent and more above last year.

The National City Bank has reported that 350 big industrial corporations showed profits during the third quarter 70 percent higher than for the third quarter last year. This brought the combined profits of the 350 companies, including the auto and electrical-equipment companies, for the nine-month period to 12 percent above the same period last year.

The biggest gains over last year's profits were shown by the cement, glass and stone group, with a 52.2-percent increase; chemicals and drugs went up 49.2 percent; service companies went up 46 percent; and food products went up 43.9 percent. Profits in the trade industries, pulp and paper products and miscellaneous manufacturing were up more than 100 percent above last year.

These gains more than overbalanced the declines in automobiles and electri-

Drawn for the New Republic by R. C. Eckhardt

THE GRAND OLD PARTY

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cal equipment of 86.5 and 69.9 percent respectively. The steel companies, despite the strike earlier in the year, were able to report a profit of 42.7 percent above the similar period last year.

Socialists Confer

London

DELEGATES from the Socialist Parties of 18 countries met in Bournemouth, England, last week, the second time since the end of the war, to advance a little farther toward making international socialism an effective political force. Chile, Australia, Canada and Palestine were represented. Austria and Hungary sent vice-premiers, and Britain's Minister of Fuel and Power, Emanuel Shinwell, presided.

The machinery of contact was strengthened the first day: the existing bulletin is to be enlarged and improved, and a permanent consultative committee in London will prepare the ground for future conferences. The Socialist Party of Greece, represented by Professor Svolos, will be invited to the next conference in Switzerland in the spring. For fear of compromising relations with any effective national mass party of the working class which may later appear in the United States, the conference rejected the claims to membership of both the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Party. The Spanish Socialists' present tormented division between the Prieto and Negrin factions will be further discussed in Switzerland.

The most important work of the conference was the long, exhaustive examination of the German Social Democratic Party, whose leader, Kurt Schumacher, was visiting England for discussions with the Labor Party later this month. Britain, Holland and the Scandinavian parties pressed for full admission of the German Socialists at the next conference on the grounds that their leaders are thoroughly trustworthy, that recent elections showed they had mass support and that they would prove a major instrument in re-educating the German people to faith in democracy. Louis de Brouckere, Belgium's great veteran Socialist, made a brilliant speech to this effect, full of warm humanity. The Swiss seemed divided in mind, suspicious of Nazi survivals. Vilim of Czechoslovakia urged caution, but only the Poles came out in open opposition to the proposal. Not only the difficulty of their internal position, but the memory of their extreme sufferings and the instability of their western frontier forced them to play the same role as Belgium after 1918.

In the event a genuine compromise is agreed on, leaders of the German party will appear at the spring conference to plead their own case.

Press comment interpreted the results, some as the funeral of the Socialist International, some as its nativity. In fact, a final break with the traditions of the old Labor and Socialist International was symbolized by the liquidation of the LSI's remaining assets. But a new technique of solidarity passed with the Bournemouth Conference from infancy to childhood. In the first practical decisions taken, in no case did the minority abuse the overwhelming desire for unanimity by exercising a veto. Progress will remain cautious until the shock of war has passed and until relations between Britain and Russia in Europe have improved. As confidence and knowledge increase, effective socialist coöperation will influence immeasurable activities in the normal diplomatic field. It remains to be seen whether real solidarity requires imprisonment in an institutional framework of a formal Socialist International.

Variety at the Met

New York City

THE Metropolitan Opera opened its sixty-second season last Monday, and Olin Downes, New York *Times* music critic, complained next morning that "'Lakme' is just plain dull."

The news columns of the *Times* reported that the audience, which included Miss Margaret Truman (a singer herself) and many distinguished diplomats, enjoyed looking at one another and buoyed itself up very nicely at the Louis Sherry bar. *Variety*, which has a keener sociological sense than the *Times*, ignored Miss Truman to describe other music lovers such as Christo, who used to operate the Pavillon Royale on Long Island, Jack Kriendler, "who bosses a certain West Fifty-second Street trap, and other lammisters from the bistros who should know about such things."

Although, said *Variety*, "the gowns were uninhibited and the tiaras out of the vaults, some of the chromo characters looked like they too came out of the mothballs. . . . Highballs at a buck a copy, champagne cocktails at $1.50 and imported grape that flowed like 7-Up prove that many opera lovers are great lostweekenders."

And "Lakme"? "Okay for sound," said *Variety*, "except for tenor Giacomo Vaghi: his double-barreled clinkers in the first act will probably send him back to the Roxy chorus."

Around One World

Washington

ANOTHER HITCH has developed in the Army's plan to send a flight of B-29 Superforts around the world. However, the best guess still is that from eight to 24 of the big bombers will start the junket within a few weeks, probably without much advance notice. It was the fanfare of publicity, not opposition to the project itself, which riled Secretary of State Byrnes and actually caused the original postponement. Now, a new plan to send a "preliminary" small flight of B-29's on the trip, without ballyhoo, also has been scrapped. The Air Forces will not say why.

Meanwhile, American warships are again preparing to visit Turkey and Greece. The State and Navy Departments emphasize that the visit is not related to Turkey's rejection of Russia's request for Dardanelles bases. This follows Navy Secretary Forrestal's recent statement that US warships were in various parts of the world to "protect United States interests and support United States policies."

Big Inch

Washington

INFORMED SOURCES in the government now think that unless the Big Inch pipelines are sold before January 1, 1947, they may not be sold at all.

The War Assets Administration, charged with disposal, issued a report to Congress a year ago advocating continued oil-use for the lines. The WAA staff has under consideration 16 bids received since July 31 and is

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expected to publish its findings any day.

This week the House committee of lame-duck Representative Enos Slaughter (D, Mo.) met to take the testimony of John L. Lewis, Jesse Jones and Harold Ickes. Lewis, along with the coal-carrying railroads and the mine owners, doesn't want the pipeline to be used to transport oil in competition with coal. Ickes says natural gas is the answer; Jesse Jones, from Texas, is plugging for oil. The hearings added up to one thing—delay.

The CIO Meets

Atlantic City

DESPITE the loud and sometimes rude noises heard in the CIO's Atlantic City convention this week, the significant thing is that President Philip Murray, the old master and peacemaker, is in complete charge. He is not quitting, as he once threatened. He is not running away. He is firmly at the wheel, curbing the CIO's tendency to ride off in all directions.

Murray's technique and prestige were never more valuable to the progressive wing of organized labor. The 630-odd convention delegates came here in no happy frame of mind; the mid-term elections were lost and the CIO-PAC was pretty well smothered in the landslide. The drive to organize the South has been something less than successful.

On top of it all, the long smoldering feud between Right and Left in the CIO burst into flame just at convention time. Murray first turned the split to good account. To the discomfiture of the left-wingers, he jockeyed his executive board into vesting full control over 396 local industrial-union councils in the national office. The effect will be to rid these maverick CIO bodies of Communists and "strangers"; and with them will go foreign-policy meddling and other non-trade-union activity which has embarrassed the CIO for years.

Then Murray turned to the much harder task of keeping the Right-Left feud from splitting the convention and possibly the CIO itself. The Right was allied with the Center, and together they compose 80 percent of the CIO. The extreme Right was determined to take nothing less from the convention than a blanket condemnation of communism and all its works.

Murray decided that the CIO could not stand a knock-down fight at this time. He gave the right-wing leaders carte blanche to fight the Reds in their own unions, and to work against them individually in the affiliates, but Murray put his foot down against an officially endorsed campaign to split the CIO.

He resorted to a typical Murray move. He appointed a special committee of three left-wingers—Mike Quill of the transport workers, Abram Flaxer of the public workers, and Ben Gold, a member of the Communist executive committee and president of the fur workers; and three right-wingers—Walter Reuther, Emil Rieve of the textile workers and Milton Murray of the Newspaper Guild. They quickly became known in Atlantic City as the "Secret Six." Murray put them in a room together and ordered them to come to an arrangement that would preserve the dignity and integrity of the CIO.

Although everybody said it wouldn't, the committee device worked. Long before the time for passing resolutions arrived, Murray was certain that ideological differences would not be allowed to divert the CIO from its prime tasks of organizing the unorganized and of improving wages and working conditions.

So last Monday, when the convention opened in the familiar old ballroom of the Chelsea Hotel, Murray could say in good conscience: "The CIO is of America and for America in concept, philosophy and conduct. It stands for the preservation of the American democratic way of life. It stands four-square for the principle of the rights and freedom of the individual. It rejects any and all ideologies which by action, design or philosophy run counter to the American concept of democracy and freedom."

Things to Watch Out For

British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin will find on his return home that the left-wing revolt against his policies in the House of Commons demands more serious attention than he has given it. Many moderates are involved, as well as extreme left-wingers. This group is most vociferous on Greece and Spain and will continue to demand changes.

Old-line Southerners will use every parliamentary device to get Bilbo into the Senate again, but the Republicans, with the aid of liberal Democrats, will keep him out.

Senator Kenneth McKellar, now ill in a Tennessee hospital, may not be well enough to come to Washington in time to take his oath at the beginning of Congress. Since the Democrats are no longer in control, neither McKellar nor other ailing Democrats, like Senator Bailey of North Carolina, will get so much pressure to resign as did Senator Carter Glass during his years of illness.

Republican control of Congress will bring new life into the liberal blocs in both House and Senate. While many of the best liberals are gone, those who are left will put up a much more aggressive fight than during the days of Democratic control, because Republican policies will tend to consolidate the liberals of both parties.

Southern extremists will fail in their attempt to capture the position of Minority Leader in the new House. The combined supporters of present Majority Leader John McCormack (Mass.) and Speaker Sam Rayburn (Tex.) will stand together in support of McCormack or another Northern Democrat for Minority Leader.

Housing Expediter Wilson W. Wyatt will resign if President Truman does not give him full support on two points: (1) RFC financing for a new industrialized housing industry; (2) guaranteed loans for increased construction of rental housing.

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Washington Wire—Voting at Home

WHY DID the Republicans win the elections? Primarily, in the opinion of this column, because of the stay-at-home vote. An estimated 35 million ballots were cast. As Louis Bean's preëlection articles in this magazine pointed out, any such low turnout spelled Democratic disaster. Back in 1938, the last mid-term election held in peace, some 36 million voted—one million more than in 1946. The reduced number this year is the more spectacular, since 11 million became eligible to vote in the interim. But why was there such a small turnout? It was not mere apathy and indifference: the American public can "vote with its feet," *i.e.*, stay away from the polls to register its disillusion with a party in power almost as effectively as by voting. And that is what happened in 1946, the year when the nominal head of the Democratic Party made no election speech.

The State Department announces its intention to negotiate 18 trade agreements this spring, with as many countries, under the Hull reciprocal tariff-lowering machinery. This presents a dramatic challenge to the Republicans. These new trade agreements do not have to be approved by Congress. But there are plenty of devices by which a reluctant GOP majority can block them, if it wills. For example, this nation is the chief sponsor of the proposed UN International Trade Organization. When and if this is set up, the agreement for American participation will almost certainly be sent to Congress. At that time the Republicans could, if they wanted, attach a proviso that any tariff-lowering arrangements should hereafter be approved by Congress. There are other devices, such as attaching riders to appropriation bills. Thus there is a real challenge to the party formerly associated with high tariffs. When the Hull Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act first passed Congress, in 1934, only two House Republicans voted for it. When it came up for renewal in 1937 it was backed by three Republicans; in 1940 by only six. A Republican majority in 1943 approved a limited two-year extension, but in 1945 again, only 33 House Republicans voted for it; 140 opposed it. (Democrats approved extension by 205 to 12.) The Act comes up for renewal again in 1948.

The Republican danger is that they will create isolationism indirectly and inadvertently, and that world coöperation will be destroyed by their absent-mindedness. So far, there is practically no evidence of a deliberate attempt to revive isolationism. But economic isolation is the possible consequence of a dozen indirect moves. With whoops of approval GOP leaders are moving now to pare the budget; does such economy mean cutting the State Department's foreign intelligence, research and foreign information services, refusing subscriptions to the International Bank, reducing relief shipments abroad or, even more important, bringing home occupation troops from Germany and Japan before their long-range purpose is accomplished?

Among the biggest influences in creating disillusion after World War I were the unsavory facts dug up by gleeful GOP investigators. A new series of war probes is under way and nobody can deny the reasonableness of such investigation, though the dangers of the process must also be noted. Disillusionment may come, too, from dealing with reluctant Russians, if vote-catching demagogues are able to exploit that weariness.

Wise veteran Josephus Daniels called on President Truman last week. When he came out he told the press what most of them knew already but feel it too tactless to print, that the so-called second honeymoon is a myth and that "coöperation" with the Republicans on their terms in effect spells capitulation. So we are boxed again in our traditional impasse—divided party responsibility in a time of crisis, with the threat of a government that does not govern.

America is ruled by two constitutions, the written and the unwritten. The first divides executive and legislative into separate departments and thus creates the present difficulty; the unwritten constitution, made up of customs and traditions, prolongs it, because it offers no precedent for Truman's resignation, which, in this instance, seems the logical way out. Walter Lippmann tries to overcome this second barrier by showing that the first Congress, in 1792, passed an act providing for intermediate elections for President and Vice President without waiting for four-year terms to expire. Lippmann, like any logical man, implores Truman not to dismiss utterly the thought of resigning. He fails to mention another anti-resignation argument frequently heard here, that any Republican picked by Truman now would inevitably be a candidate to succeed himself in 1948. But why could not Truman select some two-year incumbent who would be too old, or otherwise unwilling, to run again, perhaps Charles Evans Hughes?

Notes.—The United States is violating the spirit of the whole UN trusteeship program in its proposal for trusteeship over former Japanese-mandated islands. Trustees are permitted to designate certain fortified spots in such mandates as "strategic areas," where UN inspection or supervision is banned. Our proposal is to make the entire territory of the mandated islands a "strategic area," which defeats the purpose of the Charter and amounts to annexation. The proposal is contained in a trickily worded statement that purports to oppose annexation! . . . Government having abdicated, the job of adjusting wages to prices is being left by Big Business to the forthcoming "business recession" which General Motors President Sloan last week declared "apparently cannot be avoided." . . . Prices are bounding to a point where the 69-cent dollars of millions of workers simply cannot buy the goods; short of government controls, the only way of settling matters is a nice, efficient economic explosion.

Washington T. R. B.

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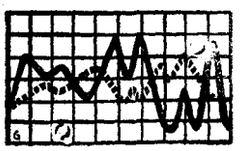
How Soon Will Prices Fall?



by Nathan Robertson

THE BASIC economic fact today is that prices are outrunning purchasing power, consumers are becoming alarmed over the future and buying in some lines is already beginning to dry up. Furthermore, production of many heretofore scarce items has reached record-breaking levels and soon will catch up with demand, even if demand does not shrink.

This is not true of all commodities by any means. Housing, sugar and soap, to mention a few, will remain scarce for a long time to come and prices on them are in for a spree. Soaps are likely to reappear in the stores soon because high prices will cut the demand, but the real demand will not be met for at least a year. Consumers who can't or won't pay the high prices will have to do without.

But soap is a good example of what can happen in a commodity where there is a real shortage of supply that cannot be met immediately. As soon as price control went off, wholesale prices went up 50 to 100 percent. At some point high up in the price level, supply will meet the visible demand, because some consumers won't buy. Then prices will steady and eventually drop, if consumers exercise restraint.

Except for a few commodities, supplies of goods are expanding rapidly. In many lines they are already approaching the point where they meet demand at the present price level. In many others they soon will. Foods generally, except for sugar and dairy products, are plentiful. Prices will not drop sharply as long as consumer demand stays at present high levels, but consumers can level off the top prices by refusing to buy.

A significant underlying fact in connection with food prices is that from 1920 to 1938 there was an extremely close parallel between the movement of farm receipts and the income of industrial workers. During the war the gross income of industrial workers tended to rise faster than farm receipts, but the lines have now crossed, and farm receipts are comparably higher.

This fact alone would indicate a drop in food prices. In addition, economists are sure that as more purchasing power is diverted to autos and other durable consumers' goods, less will be spent on food. These two facts, plus ample food supplies, should mean lower prices.

On manufactured consumers' goods of a durable nature, such as automobiles, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners and washing machines, rapidly increased production, plus higher prices, already is balancing supply with demand in some lines, so that if consumers are careful, prices should soon reflect the economic facts. While a tremendous unsatisfied potential demand for all of these things remains, it will not materialize at current prices.

A study by the Federal Reserve Board and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics earlier this year indicated that 60 percent of the liquid savings are held by 10 percent of the people and that half of the people have altogether only three percent of these savings. This half of the population is almost entirely dependent on current earnings. The study also indicated that there was a market this year for from 2.8 to 4.1 million automobiles. But the average buyer intended to pay only $1,100 for his car. How many of these people still are in the market—in view of prices so high that most of the cars they want cannot be obtained for that price? My own experience is a good example. I am driving a 10-year-old Oldsmobile, which still runs well. I had planned to buy a car as soon as possible. But in view of the current prices, I now plan to drive my old car at least another year. By that time I figure prices not only will be lower, but I will get a better product for my money.

THE OUTLOOK FOR SUPPLY

The Federal Reserve study showed definitely that most people were not planning to use their savings for postwar buying. That means that current income is the chief market for current production. That is a big market, but not unlimited. As prices go up, the number of commodity items it can absorb shrinks, regardless of public psychology. Many families that have to pay 25 percent more for their food will drop out of the market for automobiles and other heavy durable goods. A good many economists expect prices to slacken off in most commodities some time next year. Their estimates range from shortly after Christmas until late in 1947. But nearly all agree that a price adjustment downward is on the way.

These are the basic underlying economic facts in connection with supply and demand which apply to all commodities. They apply with particular force to the durable consumer goods which, unlike food and clothing, can be done without for a given period. When it comes to analyzing the supply-demand picture in any given commodity, it is possible to give the figures on supply with some accuracy. But because of the flexibility of demand—which depends so much upo

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and public psychology—figures on demand are virtually worthless.

Consumers, however, can gauge their purchasing with some accuracy on the supply picture. Here is that picture, commodity by commodity, on some of the scarcer items which are soaring in price or difficult to find today.

Bakery Products (Cakes, Pies, Crackers). – The shortage here is based on raw materials and is likely to last for a while. Sugar and fats are both short, but consumers can control prices to some extent by doing their own cooking, or doing without.

Dairy Products (Milk, Butter, Cheese). – Supplies will continue short of demand until next year, but demand has slackened somewhat in the face of higher prices. Butter may drop a little because more fluid milk is being diverted to it in view of current prices. Prices will go down a little in the spring. Oleomargarine, which comes from vegetable oils, will be short for another year. But current high prices may divert more of the fats from shortening into oleo, or vice-versa.

Meat. – There is plenty of meat, compared with prewar, but demand will continue strong until there is a general economic slump. Meat supplies will continue ample next year, except for a temporary shortage of pork in the first part of the year. Consumers already have shown they can level top prices in meat by refusing to buy.

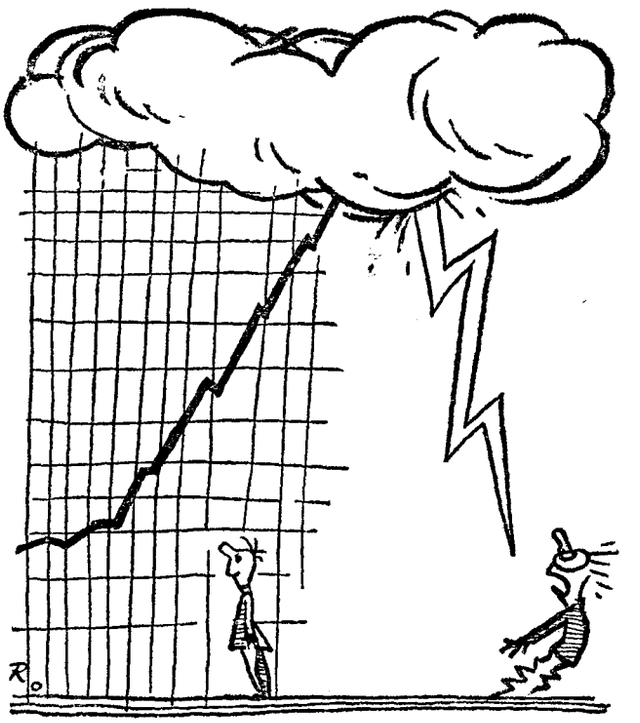
Sugar and Syrups. – There is a world shortage of sugar, due to war damage in the Philippines, Java and other producing areas. The situation should ease a little next year, when Cuban production comes in, but the Philippines and Java will not be exporting before 1948. Lifting of price ceilings would send prices soaring, as demand now runs 100 pounds per person in this country as compared with a supply of only 73 pounds.

Fats and Oils (Soap, Shortening, etc.). – Supply is beginning to improve with imports of copra from the Philippines and greater meat production, but palm oil from the Dutch East Indies still is unavailable and probably will be for another year or more. Unless demand slackens with higher prices, these products will be short for at least another year.

Textiles (Dresses, Suits). – Lower cotton prices and increased textile production should foreshadow lower prices in many lines of clothing. Production of men's wool suits has reached a record-breaking level and the output of separate coats and trousers is far in excess of prewar.

Shoes. – Production is suffering from the shortage of leather, resulting from the decline in slaughter of cattle. Increased meat production will mean more shoes early next year.

Automobiles. – Production still is running far behind demand, but is almost up to prewar levels, and at current prices may soon find a softening in demand.



Drawn for the New Republic *by Robert Osborn*

Refrigerators. – Production is rising, but still is behind the peak levels of 1940-41. Steel supplies still hamper production.

Radios. – Production is more than a third higher than the prewar levels and should begin soon to meet the demand at present prices.

Washing Machines. – Production here is again higher than prewar by a good margin. How long demand will last at current prices is uncertain.

Vacuum Cleaners. – Production is half again higher than prewar and still rising. The demand situation is the same as in radios and washing machines.

Housing. – Potential demand is almost unlimited, but prices today are cutting this down sharply, and production is now at the highest dollar-volume level in history, despite the shortages of materials. Current prices include heavy cushions to cover costs resulting from delays in deliveries of materials. Once the material flow is improved, this alone should result in lower costs. But housing will remain tight, and prices high, for years to come.

Building Materials (Lumber, Cement, etc.). – Production of building materials is rising fast, and in some critical areas is setting new records. More bathtubs are being turned out than ever before; cement output is higher than at any time since 1942; lumber production is up 27 percent from last year and is close to record levels. Postwar peaks have been reached in other critical materials such as cast-iron soil pipe, hardwood flooring and warm-air furnaces. But these materials are still scarce.

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There is no question whatever that if consumers exercise restraint in their buying, prices will begin to fall, and fall rather rapidly, in some sectors of the economy.

Economic forecasting is dangerous business, as some of the best economists have discovered since the war. But it is not dangerous to prophesy that some of the prices now reaching toward the sky are due for a fall before long. Exact forecasts are impossible because economic facts do not always control price situations. Public psychology often interferes. Past history has shown that if the public is optimistic and in a buying mood, prices often stay up when they should come down. But when the public gets panicky, or angry at high prices, and stops buying, prices come down in a hurry.

The Battle over Trusteeship

by Jane Bedell

THE TRUSTEESHIP cauldron has come to a full boil in the United Nations General Assembly. There have been no decisions on the draft agreements submitted, no concrete action on the Trusteeship Council. Meetings continue, debate goes on and the delegates are daily scalded by as diverse a number of disagreements, charges and counter-charges as the United Nations has ever witnessed.

Discussion revolves around two opposite poles of belief and three specific problems. Flocking to one pole are South Africa, Great Britain and the United States, who think of trusteeship and annexation as being somehow synonymous. Flocking to the other pole are India, the Soviet Union and some of the lately dependent countries, who believe that the UN trusteeship system was designed to promote "the progressive development toward self-government or independence."

The factions supporting these two poles have clashed headlong on:

1. An interpretation of the Charter, especially that section specifying that the terms of trusteeship shall be agreed upon "by the states directly concerned."

2. The Union of South Africa's proposal to annex Southwest Africa.

3. The United States plan for "trusteeship" control of the strategic Pacific islands.

Basically, both sides agree that trusteeship, according to the Charter, applies to territories held under League mandate, territories taken from the enemy during World War II and any other territories voluntarily placed under the system. Whether or not the application is obligatory is another question, but in any case the agreement is drawn up by those still unidentified "states directly concerned" and submitted to the General Assembly for approval. If and when an agreement is approved, the Trusteeship Council itself can be established. The exception to this procedure is a strategic area such as the Pacific islands, which are placed in trust following Security Council rather than General Assembly approval.

But the delegates find themselves in difficulties again when it comes to the provision of the Charter article that trusteeship agreements shall be drawn up by the states directly concerned. On this section they split in their interpretation of "the letter and the spirit of the Charter." The United States, with John Foster Dulles as spokesman, has come up with a proposal to end the difficulty by interpreting the section to apply only to the mandatory or controlling power. In so doing, Dulles by-passes suggestions that the Big Five, the controlling power, the bordering states and the trust territory itself be given a voice in the agreement. Dulles says this limitation is necessary before work can continue; that without it the Trusteeship Council won't be set up at this Assembly session.

RUSSIA CHAMPIONS THE UNDERDOG

The Soviet Union has led the fight for a broader interpretation of the term "states directly concerned." Its position has been that the Charter reads ". . . states directly concerned, including the mandatory power. . . ." Obviously, the Russians say, that means the mandatory power in addition to some other state. Anyhow, they point out, the word is "states," not "state."

Dulles, of course, has a point. If anything is to be accomplished, interpretation is necessary. Moreover, it is difficult to limit the states concerned in a trusteeship agreement except by arbitrary means. What both he and the Russians realize is that Russia, too, wants to participate in drawing up trusteeship agreements. The only way she can participate is by insisting that the Big Five be included among the states directly concerned.

However mixed Russia's motives may be, she turns up clearly and irrevocably on the side of the subject peoples in the trusteeship fight. This is particularly true of South Africa's proposal to annex Southwest

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Africa. Marshal Smuts has made his request on the ground that Southwest Africa is and must be an integral part of the Union economically and administratively. Anyhow, he says, both the natives and the European populations have voted overwhelmingly in favor of the annexation.

Nikolai V. Novikov of the Soviet Union immediately charged that the Union of South Africa was merely attempting to camouflage a direct annexation proposal by a "fictitious demonstration" of the will of the people. He went on to say, without mincing words, that the whole move was in gross violation of the Charter.

The fate of a former mandate can be determined "either by granting true independence . . . or by transforming it into a trust territory," he said. "From the point of view of the principles of the Charter, there is no third way." He pointed out that South Africa had attempted neither.

South Africa's Position

With a real show of emotion, Marshal Smuts replied that South Africa had been insulted by Novikov's "crude propaganda." At the next meeting the Marshal became equally irate at India for charging that the South African government discriminates against the natives and possibly even intimidated them in their vote on annexation. Using the old people-who-live-in-glass-houses argument, Smuts declared that charges of discrimination come with ill grace from a country with 50 million people in the depressed classes. The Marshal added that his country would continue to handle Southwest Africa as an integral part of the Union even if the General Assembly disapproved the annexation proposal.

Obviously the Union of South Africa has much at stake in its former mandate. It has made investments and improvements; it has tapped a source of cheap labor; its economic, political and administrative problems would be greatly simplified if it could incorporate the territory instead of continuing to administer it under mandate or trust. In short, as the delegate from White Russia said, what seems to be at stake is "not evolution toward independence, but whatever is convenient for the mandatory power." It is almost certain that the General Assembly will reject the annexation proposal. But the fact that South Africa has taken a so-what attitude serves to increase the difficulties of the trusteeship committee and to delay the establishment of a Trusteeship Council with actual as well as theoretical power.

The United States, in its position on the Pacific islands, runs South Africa a close race for first place in the so-what contest. For although it is couched in different terms, although it applies to a different territory and is presented under different circumstances, it is none the less an annexation proposal.

Last January and again on November 3, President Truman said that the United States intended to have sole trusteeship rights in the Pacific islands deemed necessary to our security.

Three days later he clarified the United States position, shocking most of the trusteeship-minded people of the world in the process. The United States proposes to assume sole administering authority over the Marshall, Caroline and Marianas Islands as an integral part of this country. Since the US considers these islands strategic areas, the draft agreement will go to the Security Council for approval or rejection. But whether or not it is approved, the United States will retain control—by right of conquest.

The Mote in Our Own Eye

Under the draft agreement, we shall be able to declare any or all of these island areas "strategic" and therefore exempt from United Nations inspection. Our security rights will be subject to no outside control and no changes in the agreement can be made without our consent.

President Truman's statement ended a State Department-Army-Navy fight that has continued ever since we conquered the islands. The fight ended in victory for the military powers. Actually the basis for the victory was formed at San Francisco when the UN Charter was drafted.

Official Army, Navy and Air Force opinion has been "we took them, let's keep them." To support this opinion, Stassen worked the "strategic-area" clause into the Charter while Britain smiled and Russia shrewdly bargained for an Italian colony in exchange for her support.

Russia didn't get the colony and the United States is not likely to win Russian support for a proposal that is both high-handed and dangerous to the Soviet Union's own security. The only reason the Russians have not yet attacked the proposal openly is that they will have ample opportunity to do so later when it reaches the Security Council.

Britain, on the other hand, has good reason to be overjoyed with the American position. It is difficult to see how the United States can afford to become righteous about the annexation of Southwest Africa or about British trusteeship demands in other sections of Africa, even though those agreements permit British commercial monopolies to the possible disadvantage of United States commercial interests.

Time was when our position seemed both clear and democratic. There was the Atlantic Charter, with its pledges against annexation, reaffirmed in the United Nations Declaration of January 1, 1942. There was, as late as 1945, President Truman's foreign-policy declaration, made in his Navy Day speech, that "we do not seek for ourselves one inch of territory in any place in the world."

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Getting Tough with Peron

by Graham Hovey

SPRUILLE BRADEN, Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, is back on top and the United States attitude toward Argentina is firm again. Yet, this situation could change sharply within a few months. The Republican election victory, agitation of some Army and Navy leaders, differences inside the State Department over Argentine policy—all these factors mean that Braden recently won a battle, but not the whole war.

Secretary of State Byrnes, obviously with the knowledge and support of President Truman, announced the Braden victory at a Washington news conference before leaving for the New York meeting of the Big Four foreign ministers. Byrnes made it emphatically clear that Braden will stay in office with the complete backing of Byrnes and Truman, and that United States policy toward Argentina will be the Braden policy.

This meant simply that if General Juan D. Peron's government wanted to participate in an inter-American military-defense treaty with the United States, it first would have to carry out its pledges to: (1) deport German agents still in Argentina; (2) put out of business some hundred German firms; (3) close the German schools and cultural institutions still functioning there.

Byrnes's statement ended temporarily the rumors that Braden was on the way out and that the policy toward Argentina would be softened to enable speedy enactment of a 21-nation hemisphere-defense pact. But United States policy on Argentina has faltered before. It might falter again. Byrnes was careful not to close the door on this possibility and no one—not even Byrnes himself—knew for sure how he and President Truman might feel about the issue a few months hence.

Certainly, Byrnes went out of his way to endorse Braden and the Argentine policy. Although no one at the State Department would admit it, Byrnes also wrote a letter which reportedly took the hide off George S. Messersmith, US Ambassador to Argentina. Messersmith has written detailed letters to Washington friends, sharply criticizing Braden's policy and urging conciliation with General Peron. If Messersmith wanted to resign, Byrnes gave him the opportunity. But what seemed most significant was that Byrnes did not fire Messersmith. And, so far as could be learned, the Secretary of State did *not* rebuke William D. Pawley, US Ambassador to Brazil, who also has talked privately against the Argentine policy and has frequently been mentioned in print as a possible successor to Braden.

Thus, with Byrnes in New York, Braden was continuing his efforts to carry out a policy opposed by his own lieutenants in the two most important diplomatic posts in South America. (Pawley, home on leave, saw President Truman last week, then blandly told reporters there never had been a time when the Americas, including Argentina, were so eager to fulfill their international commitments.)

THE PROBLEM OF MILITARY COÖPERATION

Some Army and Navy leaders, apparently not worried about the fascist trappings of Peron's regime and its failure to throw out the Nazis, have long urged that the United States forget its differences with Argentina and proceed with the inter-American defense treaty in the interests of "hemisphere solidarity." Last spring they pushed unsuccessfully for enactment by Congress of the "Inter-American Military Coöperation Act." This would permit the Army and Navy to collaborate with the other American republics and Canada to standardize—in other words to adopt United States military organization, training methods and equipment. It also would authorize the President to sell or give United States Army and Navy equipment to the other American governments.

Army leaders told Congress the transfers of equipment would be made in such a way as not to disturb the relative military strengths of the various American republics. Yet, Argentina for years has demanded military parity with Brazil, a country which got much of our equipment during the recent war and sent a force to fight with the United States Fifth Army in Italy.

General Carlos Von der Becke, Argentina's former Chief of Staff, has as his main claim to wartime fame a report which quoted him as saying on the eve of D-Day in Normandy that such an invasion would be impossible. Von der Becke denied saying any such thing. His United States Army friends helped promote his visit to this country last spring and arranged for General Eisenhower to receive him. The visit ended somewhat abruptly a short time later when, in a hastily arranged meeting, acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson told Von der Becke in effect to go home and advise his government to carry out its hemisphere and United

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Nations obligations if it wanted friendly relations with the United States. Now Von der Becke is back in Washington again, as Argentina's representative on the Inter-American Defense Board. What he tells his United States Army friends these days probably is not calculated to generate War Department support for the Braden policy on Argentina.

Behind the Army's impatience to bind the Americas into a military-defense treaty and standardize military organization, training and equipment, is the fear of a future war with Russia. Military leaders have not explained, however, how a treaty with Peron's Argentina, German agents and all, would help the United States defeat the Soviet Union. In fact, they haven't as yet given reasons for believing that Argentina, because of such a treaty, would forsake her historic neutrality and plunge into such a war on our side. The military seems to forget that Argentina at the Havana Conference in 1940 subscribed to the principle that an attack on any American republic constituted an attack on all. Yet, after the United States had been attacked, Argentina attempted to organize a neutral bloc and remained technically "neutral" herself until the closing weeks of the war against Germany, harboring Nazi agents all the while.

In any future war, the United States and its allies might need Argentine meat, wheat and corn. In the light of Argentina's past performances, however, it seems unlikely that a hemisphere defense treaty would of itself help or hinder this country's efforts to get those products.

Heading Off the Russians

But the pressure for conciliating Peron and getting on with the defense-treaty business continues. Currently, some Army leaders and diplomats are worried because Russia reportedly is about to conclude a treaty of trade and friendship with Peron. There may be some trade between the two countries, but how such a pact could amount to much or how Russia could get any real concessions—economic or political—out of Peron remains a mystery. Coöperation with the Communists would cost Peron the powerful support of the Catholic Church and a large segment of the army. In addition, the trade of the two countries is not reciprocal. Russia temporarily may be able to use Argentine meat, wheat and hides. Eventually, Russia will produce her own. Argentina has long-range plans for industrialization. It is difficult to see how Russia could replace Britain and the United States in the predictable future as chief supplier of the industrial and capital goods which Argentina wants most. Thus, any Soviet-Argentine trade agreement probably would be mostly a Peron gesture, designed to bother, and, if possible, to worry the United States. It may have that effect on some Army leaders and diplomats. It surely will make them work even harder to change the Braden policy, push the defense treaty and the military-coöperation bill.

Their job probably will be much easier when the Republican-dominated House and Senate convene in January. There will be more Red-baiting, more witch-hunts, more Russophobia on Capitol Hill. Throughout 1946, Senator Bridges, Senator Wherry and Representative J. Parnell Thomas have persecuted State Department liberals in an effort to strike at Braden. With the secret police of Franco and Peron offering their support, Braden's enemies singled out for attack Gustavo Duran, an assistant of Braden's and formerly a colonel in the Spanish Republican Army. The fact that both the State Department and the War Department cleared Duran of all charges made by Bridges, Wherry and Thomas did not concern them. As chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities in the new Congress, Thomas will be in a better position to smear innocent men.

American Influence to the South

Meanwhile, there is evidence that Byrnes's strong endorsement of Braden has had considerable effect in the other American republics. At an organization meeting of the Pan American Union Board of Governors, Braden was elected chairman by a vote which was unanimous aside from his own ballot. This represented a real degree of support for Braden and the United States policy. But it also meant that some Latin American governments actually opposed to Braden and his policy had decided to get on the bandwagon. Even Argentina's acting Union Governor, Ruben J. Dussaut, voted for Braden, apparently confident he would decline the office. This Braden promptly did, with a tactful speech. The governors then elected Antonio Rocha of Colombia as chairman, but not before Luis Quintanilla of Mexico had risen to thank Braden and tell him the Union Board was backing his policy and the "American ideal" for which he stands.

But in Argentina, General Peron continued to follow the Nazi pattern. Increased Argentine economic pressure on neighboring Uruguay, Bolivia and Brazil was reported. Food shipments to Bolivia had halted abruptly with the revolution which brought about the ouster and slaying of Colonel Gualberto Villaroel. Argentina's official reason was a shortage of freight cars. Wheat deliveries to Uruguay had dwindled to a mere trickle practically on the eve of that republic's national election. One of the presidential candidates in the election was Luis Alberto Herrera, once hailed by Peron as the greatest statesman in South America.

Latest reports indicate that Argentina so far has deported only 28 individuals who served the Axis cause during the war. Some of these were Spaniards, but even the Germans included were small fry, with the sole exception of Wilhelm Wieland, a Nazi agent. Still in Argentina were the key men in the German

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plans for South America, including Ludwig Freude, Hans Harnisch and Johannes Siegfried Becker.

Recently Peron declared that Freude had been cleared of any connection with the Nazis. Several weeks ago Peron and other high government officials went off to the north to watch the Argentine army, navy and air forces conduct maneuvers near the borders of Uruguay and Brazil. These two countries were officially assured that the site of the maneuvers had no significance.

After the US elections the semi-official pro-Peron newspaper, *La Epoca*, called the GOP victory "the most important international event of the year 1946 for Argentines." The Democratic defeat signified "a general reaction against the international policy of Spruille Braden," *La Epoca* said. "In this Bradenian defeat, a great national victory comes to us. The defeat of the Democratic Party justifies the position of Argentina on the continent and opens the way to good neighborliness."

Has Colonialism a Future?

by Paul M. Sweezy and Lewis S. Feuer

THE LONG-STANDING IRRITATION of Laborite back-benchers against British colonial and foreign policy broke out into the open in Commons last week. A group of 60 rebellious MP's ignored threats of expulsion from the Labor Party to press for an extension of Britain's liberal domestic program to the colonies and elsewhere. But they did not gather enough strength seriously to endanger Ernest Bevin's position. The chances are that British foreign policy will remain unchanged for the time being.

Within the framework of present policy, what kind of life do the British—and the Russians—have to offer the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the world?

First and foremost, the British Labor Government's empire policy has made no break with the methods and practices of the past. This is especially evident in the case of India, though the press has been at some pains to give a contrary impression. The form of the "Indian problem"—the attempt to find a constitutional basis for agreement among the various Indian factions and parties—remains unchanged; and if there is more boldness and a greater sense of urgency in recent British efforts, this is because the existing order in India has been rapidly degenerating toward a state of anarchy. It is noteworthy that there has been no sign of the kind of bold socialist attack on the problems of Indian economy which some left-wing Laborites used to foresee as one of the early fruits of a Labor victory at the polls.

This is not to deny the tremendous importance of Indian independence nor to belittle the wisdom and statesmanship displayed by the Labor Government. It is simply to point out that Labor is following a course in India which the Tories could hardly have refused if they had been in power. Even more, it is a policy which the Tories would not really wish to refuse. The sober-minded British imperialist knows that the war produced a basic change in Anglo-Indian economic relations and that his own interests can now be protected only by coming to terms with the rising Indian capitalist class. The requirements of war finance changed Britain's status with respect to India from that of creditor to that of debtor. By the end of 1943, the government of India had repatriated almost its entire public debt; and by April, 1944, its blocked-sterling holdings totaled more than $2,800 million. Ownership and control of Indian railways passed gradually into Indian hands; Indian capital steadily increased its hold even over the older British domains of jute and coal; while Indian shipping rose to a position from which it could seriously challenge British supremacy. Under the circumstances, British imperialists, no less than the Labor Party, are prepared to abandon untenable positions; they now seek salvation along a new path which has been described by Sir Frederick Whyte, former president of the Indian Legislative Assembly, as leading "toward coöperation between British firms and Indian investors on the basis of rupee investment, in which (unlike the political field) racial differences are forgotten in the pursuit of common economic aims."

GRADUALISM, ONLY FASTER

When we turn from India to the colonies proper, it appears that Labor is speeding up certain processes of reform which are quite characteristic of British colonial policy as it has developed during this century. The present government inherited the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, as amended in March, 1945, by the terms of which Britain will grant outright a sum of $480 million for colonial development

(Continued on page 691)

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Lewis S. Feuer was for two years with the US Army in the South Pacific. His work brought him into close association with European colonial administrators, Melanesian tribes and Asiatic coolies. He is now teaching at Vassar.

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Editorials

Life Under the Republicans

APPARENTLY the Republican leadership in Congress does not believe that it is time for a change. Special sessions of the Republican steering committees of both House and Senate have met and adjourned with no apparent substitute for the do-nothing policy followed by the GOP in the last election. Representative Joseph Martin (Mass.), almost sure to be the new Speaker, issued a statement for the House Steering Committee covering in bare outline subjects stressed by Republicans in the campaign—taxes and appropriations, government controls and presidential powers. But the Senate committee brought out no legislative program at all. Largely influenced by Senator Robert Taft, it decided to stick to its defensive tactics. If sitting back and waiting for Truman to make blunders paid off in 1946, why shouldn't it do the same in 1947 and 1948?

In short, there is no sign the Republicans have a program, or even the makings of one, adequate to the rough economic weather that almost certainly lies ahead. On the contrary, there is sickening evidence that their strategy calls instead for another period of Truman-baiting. For that purpose the Republicans have been busily building up a new straw man named "coöperation."

For once, there is reason to give thanks for Harry Truman's steadfast party regularity, to hope that it holds. For there is no future for liberalism in Democratic collaboration with the Republican majority. Its past record and present promises hold out no hope of "coöperation" unless Truman were to abandon the program he has supported in the past.

Look at the record. In the last Congress, Republicans and Democrats split this way on five major issues in each house. (The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol [−] indicates an anti-progressive vote.)

Even on foreign policy, the fine press which Senator Vandenberg and bi-partisanism have received is only a blind to the booby-trap possibilities of "cooperation" in this field. The fact is that American foreign policy has scarcely pretended to be bi-partisan in any but its political aspects. On international economic questions, the Administration met with violent opposition from Republicans in the last Congress. On the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and the British Loan a majority of Republicans in both houses voted "No."

The disagreement between the two parties has been deeper and more consistent on foreign trade than on any other international question. Certainly any "cooperation based on conventional Republican high-tariff philosophy is inacceptable, and recent congressional history holds no indication of a Republican shift. Representative Daniel Reed (N. Y.), second ranking Republican on the Ways and Means Committee, which handles tariff legislation, introduced a bill in the last Congress to repeal the Reciprocal Trade Act outright, and there is no indication that the same proposal will not be pushed in the new Congress.

Republican Senator Kenneth Wherry's (Neb.) response to the State Department's recent announcement of plans for trade negotiations with 18 countries next April was that the Republicans would have to study the proposed tariff reductions very carefully before they could consider even this mild approach to economic coöperation. The records of the last Congress show that even under Democratic rule, Republican enthusiasm for high tariffs was strong enough to produce a considerable quantity of bills setting import quotas on specific commodities. Now the trend will undoubtedly be more pronounced in this direction.

Even on the political side of foreign policy, where "coöperation" between the two parties is popularly supposed to be almost complete, it should be remembered that on every showdown vote, a large minority of Republicans has swung over to the support of the Administration only after doing its best to hamstring the proposal with a variety of reservations and amendments. For example, Republicans voted against necessary preparatory expenses before approving UNESCO, and for an unreasonable postponement of an effective date before approving the Bretton Woods agreements.

Senate Republicans will wait until President Tru-

SENATE

Bill	Republicans +	Republicans −	Southern Democrats +	Southern Democrats −	Democrats +	Democrats −
Effort to destroy Reciprocal Trade Agreements Defeated 47–23 on 6/19/45	9	25	17	2	20	6
Effort to sidetrack Bretton Woods Agreements Defeated 52–31 on 7/18/45	8	28	19	0	25	2
Prohibition against government projects such as the TVA Defeated 49–30 on 9/28/45	9	24	15	3	24	3
Case anti-labor bill Passed 49–29 on 5/25/46	4	32	4	12	20	5
Taft profit-increase amendment to kill the OPA Passed 44–29 on 6/12/46	3	23	4	15	21	1

HOUSE

Bill	Republicans +	Republicans −	Southern Democrats +	Southern Democrats −	Democrats +	Democrats −
Effort to discontinue trade agreements Defeated 212–181 on 5/26/45	33	140	99	5	106	7
Legalizing speculation on housing prices Passed 249–134 on 3/6/46	8	162	24	76	100	11
Wolcott "cost-plus" amendment to kill price control Passed 259–137 on 4/17/46	9	171	29	74	97	14
Case anti-labor bill (Override veto) Defeated 255 (yeas), 155 (nays) 6/11/46	15	159	15	87	103	9
British Loan Passed 219–155 on 7/13/46	61	122	71	11	86	21

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man has presented his legislative program to the new Congress in January before showing their hand. If, when the showdown comes, their program bears any resemblance to the plans House Republicans revealed last week, God help the country.

As Senator Taylor (D, Ida.) pointed out recently, the elections have made no change in the basic voting structure of Congress. A reactionary coalition was in actual control of the last Congress and will be a clear majority in the next. The only course for Progressives of both parties to follow, as Taylor said, is to stand together behind a legislative program which they jointly plan and introduce. That is the only kind of coöperation we can afford.

"Bread Diplomacy"

FAMINE relief, as an international responsibility, will die with UNRRA on December 31. Because of the United States it will probably stay dead permanently. There will be relief, of course, but it promises to be a fairly arbitrary business handled by loans through the Export-Import Bank, a US-operated affair.

It is here that international responsibility ends and national caprice begins. The Bank, of course, is a useful organization. It has done much to stimulate trade between the United States and other countries. But a loan to stimulate trade is quite different from a loan for famine relief.

In the first place, trade is business of a peculiar kind. Political considerations enter into it; attempts are made to complement domestic needs by foreign imports; economic differences are taken into consideration. It is likely that loans to Poland or Greece or India may be approved or rejected on the basis of our country's attitude toward the governments of Poland and Greece and India.

Famine relief, on the other hand, is a different kind of business. It is pressing, immediate, emergency business in which political ideology has no part. It must be dealt with quickly and it should be handled by all the nations working together, deciding what is needed, contributing according to ability and receiving according to need. For famine is not a unilateral problem.

The position of the United States Government concerning emergency food measures was stated as long ago as last August, at an UNRRA Council session in Geneva. At that time Will Clayton suggested that the United States would prefer to use its own discretion in granting relief requests since it had been and would continue to be the chief financial contributor.

Last week, when UNRRA Director LaGuardia made a valiant plea for a famine-relief program under the United Nations, the US position was reiterated. LaGuardia received a severe slap from Acting Secretary Dean Acheson and a gentle rebuff from Adlai Stevenson, US delegate to the General Assembly's Economic and Financial Committee.

LaGuardia had proposed that a United Nations Emergency Food Fund be established immediately. He suggested that all of the United Nations contribute a portion of the $400 million needed to meet 1947 world food requirements. Presumably the United States would contribute about half the sum required. The Fund would be operated by an executive board of governments selected by the General Assembly. The board would establish requirements and facilitate barter deals.

To simplify the relief program, the countries in need of food would supply their own procurement, shipping and distribution facilities with money provided by the Fund. And lest anyone be alarmed about the duration of the Fund, LaGuardia suggested that it continue only through the 1947 harvest, at which time the General Assembly could determine its future.

The Acheson-Stevenson opposition stand was not unexpected. It is in line with the present over-all foreign policy of the United States. This get-tough-with-everyone policy has been applied to such diverse items as the proposed trusteeship agreements for Pacific Islands, the plea to lower US contributions to the United Nations and the uncompromising attitude toward Russia. Even more important, it indicates that our State Department is not yet ready to admit that political internationalism and economic internationalism are inseparable. For although there may be much to criticize in our political foreign policy, the fact remains that we are participating in the political future of the world as never before.

The refusal to participate in an international plan to feed the peoples of the world is, on the other hand, a step backwards. It smacks of economic isolation, of the outmoded theory that the rest of the world can be fed or starved according to our desires. Perhaps the Republican congressional victory crystallized America's stand on famine relief. Perhaps this is an attempt to win Republican coöperation in Congress at the expense of the starving people of Europe and Asia.

Certainly the State Department does not deny that in Poland 25 percent of the farms had been eliminated from production at the time of liberation and that many of them are still not producing. Nor does it deny that UNRRA, with its international relief, prevented mass starvation in Greece by adding 860 calories per person per day to the 650 that the Greek government was able to supply domestically.

The State Department, surely, must see some connection between food and prosperity—our own as well as that of others. They must see that miners in France, factory workers in Czechoslovakia, builders in Greece must eat before they can work. The food-production circle is a vicious one. It is not likely to be broken round the world by arbitrary loans from the

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Export-Import Bank. Unless it is broken, the world is not likely to achieve economic recovery in the near future.

Race to the Pole

THE UNITED STATES, Great Britain, Soviet Russia, Argentina, Chile and Norway have all recently renewed their interest in the more than five million square miles of Antarctica.

Today's objective is more than a flag on an icy cairn. It is uranium. More than 30 years ago, Sir Douglas Mawson of Australia brought back rock specimens from Antarctica which suggested that useful mineral resources were buried under the vast ice cap. Seven years ago Lincoln Ellsworth of the United States discovered seams of low-grade coal stretching for as much as 100 miles. The presence of coal meant the possibility of oil. Now it is thought that some South Polar regions are geologically similar to the uranium-bearing districts of Arctic Canada. That claim is not yet substantiated, but six countries have decided not to be Johnny-come-latelies.

The announced intentions of the American party, to leave early next year under the leadership of Commander Finn Ronne, are: (1) to study cosmic rays in the Antarctic's rarefied atmosphere; (2) to map the entire territory as a means of providing an operational weapon in future plans; (3) to test new weapons at Antarctic temperatures; and (4) to unearth mineral and oil resources.Whatever may be discovered, the fundamental question is: who will rule the areas where the most profitable discoveries are made?

Under the pressure of current trusteeship and other negotiations at Lake Success, UN officials and members of delegations have given no thought to the possibility of an international authority over Antarctica. But one member of the Secretariat's Department of Trusteeship thinks it would be a "good idea." The time seems opportune for the Secretariat to take the initiative. The knowledge that the United Nations would administer the continent will relieve a dog-eat-dog contest to grab land and squabble over bases.

One less problem for the peacemakers is in order.

Unplanned Tax Cuts

THE FIRST legislative goal of the Republicans, now in control of Congress, is a 20-percent cut in income taxes which they have decided to vote without waiting to see how much money they may decide to appropriate or what the economic situation may demand.

It may be that the Republicans will be able to cut appropriations sufficiently to permit a 20-percent tax reduction, but they haven't yet shown how it will be done. If there is a business recession next year, a tax cut might be good economics. But, so far, the Republicans have no machinery for studying the economic situation.

This is just the reverse of the legislative procedure contemplated in the congressional-reorganization bill and the full-employment law. They provide for Congress to study the over-all fiscal and economic situations in the light of recommendations from the President, before acting on taxes or appropriations.

The Republican decision came only a few days after party leaders had announced they would coöperate with President Truman, but it makes coöperation by the President almost impossible except on Republican terms.

The President heretofore has been strongly opposed to further tax cuts as long as inflation threatens. Unless there is a change in the economic picture Truman can be expected to continue to oppose them, which raises the possibility of a veto. Even if there is no veto, however, it is likely to be well along in the spring before a tax-reduction bill could get through Congress. Meanwhile taxpayers will continue to pay the same withholding taxes as now. If the tax cut is made retroactive to January 1, there will be a reduction of withholding taxes for the latter part of the year. If the Republicans decide upon a straight-across-the-board reduction, the tax cut would be small for the average taxpayer and large for the wealthier groups. Instead of easing up most on the middle and low-income taxpayers in line with ability-to-pay principles, such a plan would ease up most on the taxpayers in the high-income brackets. A 20-percent across-the-board tax cut sounds fair, but in practice it works out to "let them eat cake."

Burck in the Chicago Times

"How Do I Look?"

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(Continued from page 687)

over a period of 10 years. Of this sum, $94 million has been earmarked for central schemes, research, higher education, scholarships and the training of colonial officials; and $44 million has been set aside as a reserve against emergencies. The remaining $342 million will be divided among the 35 territories of the colonial empire. Nigeria, the most populous colony, will get $92 million. Assuming that the Labor Government makes the most of the opportunities provided by this Act, it is still evident that the sums involved are too small and spread too thin to effect fundamental changes in the conditions of colonial economy.

Malaya and East Africa

A partial enumeration of official measures inaugurated by Labor since it came to power will serve to demonstrate that it has been active in the colonial sphere and at the same time that it is in the main advancing along familiar paths. A constitutional reform has been announced for Malaya which, though it contains no provisions for native elections, is important in that it establishes the principle of common citizenship and equal rights for Malayans, Chinese and Indians. This is a welcome sign that Labor is moving away from the old "divide-and-rule" system of communal organization and representation—though here, as elsewhere, there are precedents. A new constitution has been formulated for Nigeria which provides for African majorities in the legislative councils; such restrictions, however, as a $200-per-annum-income qualification in the towns will effectively disfranchise the great majority of Africans. The new Central Legislature for East Africa (Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika) has the novel feature (novel, that is, for East Africa, which is perhaps the most retarded part of the empire) of equality in numbers among the "unofficials" of the European, Indian and African races, though its significance is mitigated by the fact that there are about 40,000 Europeans, 100,000 Indians and 12 million Africans. Three African members have been appointed to the Legislative Council of Uganda. New constitutions have been framed for Ceylon and Mauritius. Malta has been promised a return to responsible government. A proposal for a West Indian university has been approved. A date has been set for the revocation of forced labor in Africa. These are, we believe, a fair sample of the colonial reforms instituted by the Labor Government. As will be readily apparent, they are heavily weighted on the "constitutional" side and will have little direct bearing on living conditions of the colonial peoples.

Nor is there any evidence that Labor is planning measures which would radically alter the character or direction of colonial life. Such initiative as has been exercised has been very largely of the private-enterprise variety in the economic sphere, with results which are only too well known: exploitation of native raw materials and labor power for the benefit of foreign investors, destruction of the balance of local subsistence economies, detribalization of societies, the "color bar," creation of so-called plural societies, *i. e.*, societies which are divided against themselves on grounds of race or religion. When progressive British administrators have sought to combat these tendencies and have tried to promote native agriculture and cooperation, they have been regularly frustrated by the opposition of European planters backed up by imperialist interests in the home country. Labor has announced no plans for changing this state of affairs, for replacing bureaucratic rule by enlisting the creative powers of the colonial peoples themselves. The monumental *African Survey* of Lord Hailey, generally recognized as Britain's foremost authority on colonial administration, is clearly the inspiration for much of Labor's colonial policy; and even this enlightened expert believes that African economies can be developed only by a system of private enterprise. He therefore advocates the further dissolution of communal land tenure and fails to take serious account of the possible conversion of tribal units into economic coöperatives.

British v. Russian Policy

It would be wrong to say that Labor is unaware of the dilemma of a ruling power in a colonial empire. A recent directive of the Colonial Secretary warning "colonial governments against bureaucratic planning" and inviting them "to arouse the interest and secure the coöperation of the peoples concerned" shows that this is not the case. But it is one thing to say this and quite another to put it into practice. The problem is one of techniques and personnel: the whole system of indirect rule, which works through, and hence supports, dominant native groups with a vested interest in the status quo, would have to be thrown overboard; and the overwhelmingly conservative colonial service, which is steeped in traditions of paternalism and white supremacy, would have to be purged and renewed. These issues could not even be seriously broached without arousing bitter social antagonisms both in the colonies and at home. Labor apparently wants no trial of strength with the powerful interests which have long dominated and profited from the empire. As long as this is so, British administration will remain what *Empire*, the journal of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, admits it still is "in the eyes of many people in the colonies, a resented alien domination, irrespective of what party is in power at home."

It is generally known that the Soviet Union inherited from Czarist Russia a vast colonial empire in the Near East, Central Asia and the Far East. Not very much good literature exists on these regions, however, and the information about developments since the beginning of the war is particularly scanty. We are,

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therefore, lucky to have a relatively recent account of conditions in Soviet Central Asia from a qualified observer who is familiar with conditions in the British Empire and who cannot be suspected of undue attachment to the communist view of things. During the winter of 1944-45, Colonel C. E. Ponsonby, Parliamentary Secretary to Anthony Eden in the late Coalition Government, visited the Soviet Republics of Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. (Colonel Ponsonby is a Tory who has long been prominent in East African affairs.) In May, 1945, he addressed a joint meeting of the Royal Empire and Royal African Societies on the subject of "African Colonial Administration," and, at the suggestion of the chairman, Lord Hailey, prefaced his talk with an account of conditions in Uzbekistan. His remarks, as reported in *United Empire* (organ of the Royal Empire Society), are worth quoting at some length:

> Twenty-one years ago the Emir of Uzbekistan (who held his territories under the Czar), in fear of the reprisals by his poor people, who existed only for the purpose of taxation, with 20 of his chief followers galloped away to Afghanistan, where he subsequently died. Today one of his sons is in a technical institute and another a teacher in Moscow. Twenty-one years ago the literacy in Uzbekistan was seven percent, practically the only teaching being in the Mohammedan schools, and very few women could write at all. There were only one or two small irrigation schemes on the Czar's estates—there were no factories and no hydroelectric plants. What is the situation after 21 years? Now 98 percent of the population can read and write; there are 4,000 schools, two universities and several technical institutes; there are large efficient factories; huge irrigation schemes; 20 hydroelectric plants; and, amongst other things, a wonderful ballet and opera....
>
> How has this transformation come about? How have these leisure-loving Asiatic people been galvanized into activity; become teachers, engineers, technicians, and above all become, in the first place, enthusiastic for their Republic of Uzbekistan, and in the second place, ardent adherents of the USSR? I think that the answer is that firstly, they have found security; secondly, they realize the advantage of attachment to a regime which has brought them material prosperity, not so very great, but undreamed of twenty-one years ago; a regime which they can rely on to supply advice or expert personnel on technical subjects, and also finance for big schemes which they cannot afford themselves.
>
> But Moscow has shown great wisdom. It has emphasized that this Republic can leave the USSR if it so desires; that these people are Uzbeks first and Russians second, and that they are responsible for their own development; but by means of a government-controlled radio and press; by control of cropping and production in factories, Uzbekistan is welded into the machine as an integral part of the main USSR.

It would be a mistake to assume that Soviet policy toward the problems of backward peoples is primarily a matter of ideology or sentiment. It stems rather from the fact that the Bolsheviks in their own struggle to gain and hold power were obliged to ally themselves with all the elements in Czarist Russia which stood to gain from the liquidation of the *ancien régime*. It was inevitable that when this common struggle succeeded, new people should come to power with new values and new standards. Their interests were not in the sort of differential gain which gives rise to racial discrimination and the one-sided exploitation of undeveloped areas; on the contrary, their interests called for the strengthening of the new social order through coöperation among different races and through the maximum development of available productive resources. This point hardly needs emphasis today since the experience of the war; what does need stressing, however, is that social habits and attitudes of mind generated in intense experience over a period of years become a part of a people's "nature." The astonishing progress which Colonel Ponsonby witnessed in Uzbekistan was thus the "natural," indeed the inevitable, outcome of the genesis and make-up of the USSR.

The USSR as a Model

In the long run, countries, like individuals, are judged by their record. From the point of view of the colonial countries, the record of the USSR stands in a class by itself; and it seems reasonable to suppose that both those which enjoy nominal independence and those which comprise parts of colonial empires—not least the British—will be increasingly attracted to the USSR. This does not mean, of course, that they will want to join the USSR, but it does mean that they will want governments which can understand and profit from Soviet experience; that they will want to receive assistance from the USSR; that they will insist upon the freedom to adopt those institutional forms and techniques which have already proved their worth in overcoming the obstacles to rapid economic and social progress. So far, this is a trend which is only beginning to become evident, but it may well be one of the decisive historical trends of our time. Britons, even of the Left, will greet it with mixed feelings since they cannot escape the fact that their own position and well-being are to a considerable extent based on inherited privileges which are being irrevocably undermined. Americans, on the other hand, being more fortunate in this respect, should welcome it. Our own historical experience does not give us any special expertness in colonial economics, and in the matter of race relations we obviously have more to learn than to teach. We can afford to lend generous financial and technical assistance, but as a nation we should be glad to have the recipients of our aid call in such help and advice as they may require and organize themselves in a way to derive the maximum benefit.

All this may sound like nonsense, or perhaps worse, to those who see in colonies and backward nations

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only pawns in a game of "power politics" and who close their eyes to the facts that real people are concerned and that no policy which ignores their needs and aspirations can in the long run be successful. Such an attitude is no doubt partly due to ignorance; colonial governments customarily impose a curtain of censorship compared to which the famous Churchillian "iron curtain" is transparent and flimsy. But in times like the present, ignorance is no excuse, least of all for persons in high places. Everyone knows in a general way what has been going on since the war in Indonesia and the Far East, and corroborating evidence from Africa is not lacking—*e. g.*, the *International Labor Review* for May-June of this year, reporting on labor conditions in the Belgian Congo, describes a strike movement which began in 1941 and led to violent clashes in which there were "many victims," and quotes from an official document the following significant conclusion: "The indigenous proletariat, manual and intellectual, is following with interest and almost with passion the social evolution that is taking place. . . . The Africans are following closely what is being said and written among us in French Equatorial Africa and elsewhere, and are making their demands more and more explicit."

The Iranian Affair

Unhappily for the American people, the present administration in Washington seems to be unable or unwilling to read these signs of the times. The Iranian affair of last spring is an excellent case in point. Iran has close historical and cultural ties with the neighboring Soviet Republics. So far as the USSR is concerned, its primary interest is in having a friendly Iran covering a vital stretch of its southern frontier, which is obviously impossible so long as the country is under the thumb of a ruling class whose sympathies and outlook are similar to those of the former Emir of Uzbekistan, referred to by Colonel Ponsonby in the passage quoted above. On the other side, one must assume that the mass of Iranian peasants and workers are at least to some degree familiar with what has been accomplished north of the border and that a desire to share in this material and cultural advance would be strong, especially among the literate minority. In short, the installation of an Iranian regime friendly to the USSR and both able and willing to borrow from the creative experience of the Soviet Central Asian Republics would appear to be a common interest of the Soviet and Iranian peoples.

In the past, there has been no opportunity for such a regime; but during the war the Soviet occupation authorities in northern Iran permitted a progressive government to come to power in the Iranian province of Azerbaijan and protected it against the armies of the central government. Naturally, the Russians were reluctant to leave the country without assurances that this government would not be cut to pieces the minute they were across the border. With good will on the part of the American and British governments, the Iranians would almost certainly have given such assurances; the evacuation of Iran would have taken place on schedule; the affair would have been amicably settled in the interests of the peoples concerned and quickly forgotten; the only losers would have been the semi-feudal Iranian aristocracy. Instead, as is by now well known, the American government chose to use the situation to create an international crisis of dangerous proportions, to embitter the relations of the Big Three and to throw a monkey wrench into the workings of the United Nations. In short, the American people, through their government, were ranged squarely on the side of reaction and against the interests of the colonial peoples of the world.

Unhappily, there are plenty of signs that, behind a smokescreen of distorted facts and high-sounding phrases, the same thing is happening in China, Korea, the Philippines and other parts of the world. The tragedy is the more profound because American policy and American achievements during the war brought this country unparalleled prestige among the colonial peoples. The name of Franklin D. Roosevelt became a shining symbol of freedom among the humble and downtrodden everywhere. Now, a year and a half after his death, these same people are seeing American power, from which they had expected so much, being used to bolster up the very system of domination and exploitation which has kept them for so long in enforced poverty and ignorance.

The Goal Is Self-Determination

It would be impossible, within the space of a short article, to enter into the many problems with respect to the present and future of the British Empire which are raised by the foregoing analysis. Nevertheless, a few points seem reasonably clear. In so far as the Labor Government has stepped up the pace of reform in the colonies, it deserves the support of American progressive opinion. At the same time, however, it should be clear that self-determination of the colonial peoples themselves—which does not necessarily mean separate nationhood for each and every colony, and still less independence under the rule of a small European minority on the South African pattern—should remain the ultimate goal. There is nothing in past history, or in the recent actions of the Labor Government, to suggest that genuine equality and coöperation among the races that comprise the British Empire can be organized from London. And, finally, Americans should be on guard against all efforts, especially on the part of their own government, to freeze the various units of the empire into some sort of anti-Soviet power bloc. Quite aside from the general international dangers of such a course, it is clear that it could lead only to disaster for the colonial peoples themselves.

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New Orleans in New York

BUNK JOHNSON, the sexagenarian trumpet player whose band set New York back on its heels last winter, will probably not make the hegira this year from New Orleans to the hallowed precincts of the Stuyvesant Casino. His absence will be a disappointment to many, for Bunk's primitive little gang provided some fine listening and inspired certain avant-garde enthusiasts to new heights of gorgeous comment on the various social and intellectual trends which could be observed at the Stuyvesant for the price of a beer.

Inasmuch as Bunk's most ardent supporters profess to be admirers of jazz in its purest form, I sometimes wonder how they could have missed an equally exciting brand of jazz which was right under their noses all summer. Perhaps it's because the atmosphere at Nick's (Seventh Avenue and Tenth Street) doesn't represent the social or economic level (whiskey costs 75 cents and up) generally identified with pure jazz devoid of any commercial trappings. Maybe it's because the piano's in tune. Or maybe it was because a season in the sun made a little more sense than a summer in New York. At any rate, whatever the reason, no one has said anything nice about the Monday-night band at Nick's.

The group is a six-piece outfit playing a Dixieland style, as might be expected at Nick's. It includes such well known exponents of Dixieland as Phil Napoleon and Frank Signorelli, who played trumpet and piano with the Original Memphis Five twenty-odd years ago, and Tony Sbarbaro, drummer with the Original Dixieland Band. Most of these men lead relatively comfortable, if tedious, existences as house musicians for various networks, and it's my guess that the Monday-night sessions represent fun more than money to them. It's been a long time since I've heard anything resembling the enthusiasm they put into their music. Yet while their jazz is an expression of power and excitement, they have a remarkable facility for restraint at the right time, and I get a terrific kick out of the way they hold back on the release of a 32-bar tune, building it up until they knock the bejeesus out of the last eight bars. I haven't heard anything like this since Wingy Mannone's wonderful old records.

The beautiful tone that Phil Napoleon gets out of his horn and the driving solos which drummer Tony Sbarbaro plays on a kazoo, of all things, deserve particular mention, but it's the collective enthusiasm of this little gang that makes their jazz the finest in New York.

There are several other interpretations of the Dixieland style which may be heard around town these days, and while I don't think they measure up to the standards set by Napoleon's boys, they're certainly worth hearing. Nick's regular band, sparkplugged by Muggsy Spanier (cornet), Miff Mole (trombone) and Ernie Caceres (clarinet), is in there pitching, but it's nobody's Newhouser. Occasionally the old flame of a few years ago lights in a solo passage, but the band on the whole doesn't seem to want to play. I've heard complaints about this from a number of other listeners, with emphasis on goldbricking between tunes. All I can say is that if I were a musician with twenty years of jazz behind me, I wouldn't particularly feel like making art every night.

A wonderful gallery of jazz photographs and another Dixieland band are offered at Eddie Condon's (West Third Street). Here, a gutty little band led by Max Kaminsky features Pee Wee Russell (clarinet), Dave Tough (drums), Gene Schroeder (piano) and Jack Lesberg (bass). The group is unusually virile. Condon climbs on the stand once in a while.

Fifty-second Street, the stronghold of re-bop, hip characters and the most outrageous clipping I've seen in a long time, is nothing like the Fifty-second Street that once made the word "jump" mean something. Yet the golden age until recently was still represented there, by Georg Brunis, who worked at Jimmy Ryan's, the only place on the street where you're not subjected to an icy stare for allowing yourself to breathe between drinks. The five-piece band was built around Georg's trombone and personality, and it's hard to say which was more extroverted. Old-time listeners don't have to be told about Brunis' hilarious renditions of "Sister Kate" and "Ugly Chile," or about his magnificent impersonation of Ted Lewis. I was glad to see Georg at Ryan's, because it was the first time I've ever known him to dominate the scene completely. The band's style, needless to say, was Dixieland and, while sometimes rough around the edges, was hard-hitting and boisterous, and provided an ideal background for Georg to demonstrate his unusual ability, not only as a musician but as a showman. It's rumored that Brunis may go to Nick's. Today his band plays without him. Marty Marsala, a fine trumpeter, makes it worth listening to. CHARLES MILLER

American Repertory Theatre

Henry VIII. International Theatre, November 6, 1946.

EVA LE GALLIENNE, Margaret Webster, Cheryl Crawford and the repertory theatre that they have organized and found a backing for have made a remarkable start. By general consent their first production is admitted to be generous and fresh, full of energy, competence and sincerity, and supported by able acting and able directing. It is notable how these credits are spread out over the whole production and not left to spots, purple patches or individual triumphs among the performers. The American Repertory Theatre includes among its plans wide tours over the country, so that all this is doubly important.

For New York theatregoers, and for people outside the range of Broadway, it must seem strange, perhaps, to choose a piece like this for an initial production on the part of a budding young theatre enterprise. "Henry VIII" is an old wheeze of a play as plays go, not seldom used by former battleaxes of the states as a vehicle for their powers, but in itself it is a poor affair at best. It is put down as by William Shakespeare, but there is every sign that Shakespeare wrote very little of it. The credit for the rest goes by the usual scholarly assent to Fletcher, and anyone who knows Fletcher's work can recognize the indications. Behind it all lies the chronicle history of Holinshed. What happens is that most of the writing for the play's scenes is poor and fatuous, though the event within the scene and the characters involved are fairly dazzling. In other words, history itself comes into the picture to engage and compel us. On that basis it is easy to see why actors have been

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drawn to "Henry VIII." Such matters as the death of Catherine of Aragon, the fall of Wolsey, the coronation of Ann Bullen, the vagaries of Henry VIII, are in themselves an invitation to performance, historical curiosity and tragic delineation. The result now is that the occasion provided by the American Repertory Theatre has a certain capital spread of splendor, lavish and varied, and for the most part far above any usual level, whether in or out of repertory.

For once I should say that Miss Webster, in comparison with some of her efforts with other plays of his, has improved on Shakespeare, undeniably, though of course this is not Shakespeare. She has introduced readings from Holinshed to replace some of the wordy portions of the play as written; she has turned scenes like that about the coronation into pantomime, most happily, and has cut and clipped with brilliant stage intuition. Her own performance of the old waiting woman is one of the best in the cast, is witty and crisp and telling. The company as a whole is excellently welded together. Some of the smaller roles are read in the choppy style that is intended to convey the meter whether any sense is made or not, but with Miss Webster's coaching this can be remedied in time. In spite of dragging speeches, often poorly written, Eva Le Gallienne as Catherine, Victor Jory as Henry and Richard Waring as Buckingham gave admirable performances, and the Cardinal Wolsey of Walter Hampden has authority.

The settings and costumes by David Ffolkes are abundant in every sense, and usually most happy. In a few scenes, like that, for example, of the new-born princess, the effect might be trivial but for the fact that the scene is trivial also, not drama but mere semi-silly chronicle. On the whole a most splendid, brave, well graded beginning for this new venture in repertory. STARK YOUNG

Paranoia Unlimited

In answer to the demand for movies that make you suspect psychopathological goings-on in everyone from friend to family dog (yesterday's heroes killed Indians, today's are associated one way or another with psychiatry), MGM has reissued a pokey oldie called "Rage in Heaven." This relic starts at a lonely asylum with a comic-opera escape by an unidentified inmate (Robert Montgomery) who is known to be paranoid only by the asylum doctor (Oscar Homolka, who gives an embarrassing rendition of a Katzenjammer psychiatrist). The inmate is a prince of a fellow, bursting with paranoid symptoms that for a remarkable period of time escape detection by his admiring public—he spies from trees, is afraid of the moon, assumes the name of his best friend (George Sanders), is suspicious of everybody. As can happen only in Hollywood, after spying on her from a tree and exchanging a few unromantic words, he becomes married to lovely, dewy, innocent Ingrid Bergman, and is well on his way to ruining her glowing and enchanted existence and his family's prosperous steel empire. He destroys even Miss Bergman's brand of worshipful love by his attempts to involve her in a love affair with his best friend. His last act is to arrange his suicide so that it will look as if his friend had stabbed him.

I can't remember any Hollywood effort that pounded so relentlessly on the fact of the hero's insanity. Montgomery makes Philip a fascinating figure as a detached, woodenish, uncertain person whose movements lack conviction because in the same moment he seems both a scared boy and an arrogant person who thinks himself omnipotent. This is brought out beautifully in the one exciting episode, in which some ferocious steel workers crash their employer's office to get at Philip. Philip, afraid of appearing a coward, makes some imperious, tentative, puppetlike moves to control the men and then, in an equally wooden, boyish way loses his nerve and flees. The scene, paced slowly and jerkily, manages to achieve a remarkable projection of fear and the tortured working of a sick mind.

"Rage in Heaven" is crammed with excellent players. Miss Bergman is completely unaffected—charming in her wifely concern as she proudly watches Philip officiate at a director's meeting—without any of the polish and overambitious acting of her work in "Notorious" and "Spellbound." With sparkling loveliness, she projects so pure an air of enchanted, yearning innocence that she seems out of place in this picture among so many artful old hands. Lucile Watson, as Philip's adoring, over-protective mother, is brusque and very effective. She is particularly convincing after the suicide, when she seems smaller, shrunken, ravaged and almost hallucinated.

The production is one of MGM's stock-in-trade grandiose jobs. Philip's office at the foundry, appearing rather stunted in the movie, couldn't house more than eight or nine trains. MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

INDUSTRY GIVES PLEDGE TO
HOLD DOWN PRICE LEVELS

—Banner headline in the San Francisco Examiner, *November 11, 1946.*

ALL GM PASSENGER CARS,
LIGHT TRUCKS RAISED $100

—Banner headline, same paper, next day.

The Reverend John J. Cavanaugh, Notre Dame University president, believes that the United States can best answer nations who deny the existence of God with sky-high piles of armaments and bigger and better bombs. *—UP dispatch from Oklahoma City.*

What About the Nazis?

I welcome the opposition of the Communists, Socialists, New Dealers and their fellow travelers. I shall fight these elements in California as I fought them in Europe. *—From a campaign leaflet of Senator Knowland of California.*

Intimations of Mortality

Atom-bomb cake, fashioned of tiny angel-food puffs, arrived by motor from St. Louis to be cut at the party by Admiral and Mrs. Blandy, while Admiral Lowery stands by. *—Caption on a picture in the Washington* Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* —THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

Welcome to Wallace

SIR: Congratulations and success to Mr. Wallace in his position as editor of the *New Republic*. The country is in dire need of an outspoken liberal organ and it looks as if we are about to get it.

Chicago, Ill. AGYLE STOUT

SIR: The name Henry Wallace will live long after his enemies have been forgotten. He is now suffering a martyrdom which is frequently the lot of great patriots. History will so adjudge him. We Americans are fortunate to be represented by such a man as a symbol of what is best in us to help keep alive our grand tradition of freedom and concern for all the people. The *New Republic* is fortunate to have Henry Wallace in the forefront of its publication. His eloquent voice should be heard in many places where it would otherwise be silenced. Your platform is now broader, wider and sounder.

New York City A. HIRSCHMANN

SIR: This letter is long overdue! Sincere congratulations upon the selection of your new editor, Henry Wallace. I've always thought the editors of the *New Republic* were smart, but now I *know* it. I hope your circulation increases tenfold!

Milwaukee, Wis. HELEN SCHLAEPFER

SIR: I was thrilled to learn of your selection of Henry W. Wallace as editor of the *New Republic*. He is the logical leader in the battle to stem the rising tide of reaction.

Glenside, Pa. EDWIN N. JOHNSON

SIR: The *New Republic* has for years been "must" reading with me. The editorship of Henry Wallace makes that "must" even more imperative, whether or not I shall agree with the views he may express. It is my hope that his editorship will lead to a circulation of at least a million copies for the *New Republic*.

New York City JAMES N. ROSENBERG

SIR: Both Mr. Wallace and the *New Republic* are to be congratulated. Mr. Wallace's economic philosophy embodies the best constructive thought of our day. Progressives everywhere look to him for leadership in thought and in action. His new position affords an excellent opportunity for rallying our progressive forces. It is my hope and belief that through the medium of the *New Republic* Mr. Wallace's message will reach millions of progressives in America who now more than ever need the kind of leadership which he can offer.

Washington, D. C. ROBERT R. NATHAN

SIR: The membership of the National Maritime Union in the port of Honolulu wishes to commend Henry Wallace for his devotion to lasting peace and his courage in warning the people of a grave danger involved in present State Department policy of "getting tough with Russia."

Honolulu, H. I. SAMUEL BARNINGER, *Port Agent*

SIR: It is my opinion that Henry A. Wallace's consent to become the editor of the *New Republic* marks the beginning of a new era in journalism in America. Progressives all over the country are happy that Mr. Wallace has decided to continue his fight for peaceful and harmonious relations with other nations and his fight to see that every man who desires employment should secure employment and be paid a proper wage for the effort he puts into his work. Too often progressive men like Mr. Wallace are liquidated by the politicians and forgotten by the progressives when they are compelled to sever their active connection with government. No magazine can have a better and more progressive editor than Mr. Wallace, who will, I am sure, use the columns of the *New Republic* as a mirror of the aspirations, hopes and determination of all believers in freedom for all people and lovers of liberty everywhere.

New York City HUBERT T. DELANEY

SIR: We wish to add our hearty congratulations to the many others on your addition of Mr. Wallace to the *New Republic* staff. The most desperately pressing need now is for those who are truly working for peace to be able to reach as many Americans as possible on ways to push through. . . . Americans want peace—they *need* leadership. More power to the *New Republic* and Mr. Wallace!

Baltimore, Md. IRENE KOCH

SIR: Congratulations on the addition of Henry Wallace as your editor. Much luck to him.

New York City HERBERT LANGE

SIR: I am just a "white-collar worker" but I congratulate you on your arrangements with Mr. Henry A. Wallace to become editor of your fine magazine. It is my sincere hope and prayer that he is destined to become our next President. The trend of events today makes those of us who are watching them with such close interest cry out for such a leader.

I have been reading the *New Republic* with considerable interest for the past few months, in spite of the avalanche of criticism directed against it as being a Communist publication. I have enjoyed . . . your . . . reporting of the truth (as I see it) for no other reason than that we are *living* it, and cannot fail to recognize it when we see it in print.

San Francisco, Calif. MARY E. WILLIS

SIR: Mr. Wallace's frank and courageous spirit is needed by the American people in this critical period. I know he will challenge every idea that worked yesterday and may not work in our changed worlds. I wish him increased power to win the American people to a bold analysis of our problems and to an acceptance of sound remedies. America will be grateful for his service with the *New Republic*.

New York City ESTELLE M. STERNBERGER

A Correction

SIR: Please permit me to correct two errors in Helen Fuller's otherwise excellent account in the October 7 issue of the *New Republic* regarding the meeting of progressives in Chicago, September 28-29.

The first is her characterization of me as president of the NAACP. Lest I get in dutch with the faithful and able Arthur B. Spingarn, who is president, I wish it made clear that I am executive secretary of the NAACP.

The second statement I wish to correct is the one that I was "not there because his board of directors sent him but because his conscience sent him." The latter half of the sentence is correct—the first is not. I signed the Call and was a participant in the conference with the unanimous approval of the board of directors of the NAACP.

New York City WALTER WHITE

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Books in Review

The Next Stage in Poetry

MODERN WAR is no friend to poetry. The vast, mechanized effort which it demands of everyone is too exacting and too exhausting to allow creative work, and the violent sensations of battle dull and stun the poetical sensibility. But the experience which war gives, the extension of horizons and the new knowledge of human nature which it brings, sooner or later touch poetry and give it a new direction. The First World War strengthened and simplified certain tendencies which were noticeable before 1914 but were still the concern of small groups. In 1919 the various schools of literary rebels, Modernists, Futurists, Ultraists, Imagists and the like, had found their spheres of work and by relaxing some of their more stringent tenets made their contribution to the poetry of the succeeding years.

Between 1919 and 1939 poets in most parts of Europe conducted a bold and exciting experiment. Their aim was to bring poetry closer to its real self and to make it more vivid, more intense and more contemporary. Even their peculiarities, their abrupt methods of transition, their uncertainty of tone, their deliberate bathos and anti-climax, reflected existing conditions of mind, and their most representative works, like Mayakovsky's *150,000,000* and Eliot's *The Waste Land*, revealed, even if from quite different angles, the disturbed spirit of the age. But even before 1939 it was clear that this dynamic, electrical art was becoming more serious and more traditional. Young poets who began under the influence of an ebullient Modernism felt the need for a more staid means of expression, and older poets, who had enjoyed all the thrills of a literary revolution, were almost ready to take things more easily and to return to methods which they had discarded in their first fine frenzy. We may therefore ask if the Second World War furthered this tendency and what the prospects now are.

At a first look, the last seven years seem to have simplified poetry in an unexpected and almost undesirable way. Poets who ten years ago practised the most up-to-date methods of hint and allusion, and seemed likely to become more and more esoteric, have given up many of their more exquisite airs. Paul Eluard, the French Surrealist, who not long ago pursued the delicate art of suggestion to its furthest refinements, has abruptly changed his manner and taken to writing poems of a remarkable innocence. Boris Pasternak, the most gifted and original of living Russian poets, has in his pieces on the war moved away from his old condensed, startling style to something much easier and indeed more commonplace. Rafael Alberti, exiled from Spain to the Argentine, has in *Pleamar* turned from the concentrated, suggestive, introspective art of his noble *Sobre los Angeles* to something drier and more extrovert. Where the great figures have set the lead, the lesser have followed, and today much poetry is being written which seems to have severed its connection with the more striking elements of Modernism and to be seeking a new art which is in closer touch with ordinary life and makes some sacrifices in strength that it may be clear and easy.

BUT this impression, powerful though it is, is probably deceptive. The change in the manner of Eluard and Pasternak and Alberti is not found in all their recent work, and when it appears, it may be referred directly to the influence of political events. Eluard's simplified poetry is his contribution to the needs of his country, whether under German domination or in the throes of rebirth after liberation. Pasternak's poems about the war must to some extent have been shaped by his desire to do something for his country in her need and to show that he, who was unable to take part in the fighting, was able to make his contribution to the national spirit. Alberti, haunted by the spectre of a ruined and ravaged Spain, and himself a retired soldier of the Republican army, naturally turns his thoughts to practical problems and sometimes writes with an immediate purpose. But, while these poets sometimes write in this way, they do not always do so. Eluard has recently published *Une Longue Réflexion Amoureuse*, which has nothing to do with politics and is concerned completely with love. In Pasternak's *Terrestrial Space* there are some enchanting poems which keep all his old pantheistic feeling for nature and his surprising power of vivid and exact observation. There are many recent poems of Alberti in which he shows his mastery of the evocative song or his gift for imaginative eloquence. Though at times these three poets have made concessions to some demand from within or without, for a simplified poetry which shall serve an immediate, practical purpose, they have not always done so. They continue to exercise their real powers as before. We should be wrong to judge the present trends of European poetry by what seems to be on the whole a superficial and perhaps transitory phenomenon in it.

At the same time there is in the best of the recent poetry of Eluard, Pasternak and Alberti a new manner, even a new spirit. They have learned the lessons of the poetical experiments made between the two wars. Their language is fresh and vivid; their rhythms respond with natural ease to their moods; they are emphatically truthful and realistic; their poetry is poetry and nothing else. So far they profit by the hard work of poets in the years after 1919 and are their immediate heirs. But they have something else, something new and unexpected, which is their own and belongs to their own time.

MAURICE BOWRA

Maurice Bowra, Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, is the author of many books on classical and modern literature, the most recent of which, From Vergil to Milton *and* The Heritage of Symbolism, *were published here by the Macmillan Company. This is the first part of an article which appeared originally in* Horizon, *an English literary monthly.* – THE EDITORS

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Daniels on the Potomac

Frontier on the Potomac, by Jonathan Daniels. New York: The Macmillan Company. 262 pages. $2.75.

I REMEMBER that April day in the White House on which Roosevelt died. Jonathan Daniels had succeeded Steve Early as press secretary. The world seemed to have come to an end. Reporters walked about bewildered. Suddenly, as Daniels gave details to the press, he choked and wept. And I remember, too, how, as I was moving to go out, my own throat was caught suddenly, and quite unexpectedly, by a sob.

This book of Jonathan Daniels, *Frontier on the Potomac*, covers the Washington scene at the precise moment of transition, the last of Roosevelt, the first of Truman, the demobilization of armies and of hopes, noted by a discerning observer who has watched the show both from the inside and out. Its mood is neither sad nor gay, but a sort of genial and absorbed detachment, a mingling of the personal anecdote and of the impressionistic, at its best reminding one strongly of Henry Adams.

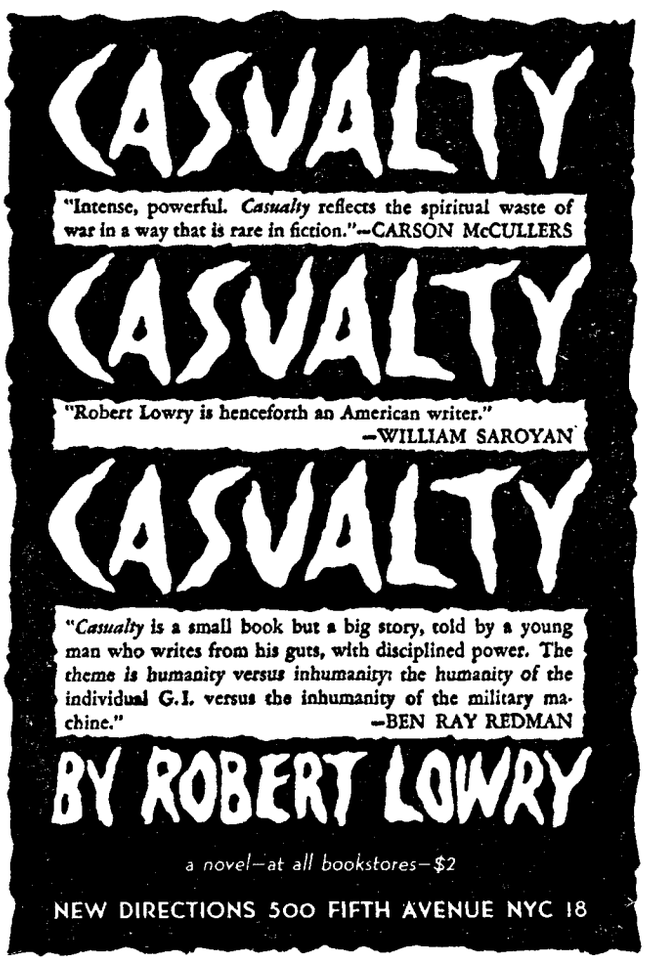
You see Harry Truman taking the oath and suddenly he is not a man any more, he is President. You see Roosevelt, with a cigarette burn in his blue pajamas, in his small bedroom in the White House, and you note that he wears the same pajamas four nights running. There are characterizations: Jimmie Byrnes with his whimsical mouth and eyebrows with a "certain swing to them above his bright eyes"; Henry Wallace, coming to greet you "with his tennis-court stride"; Lewis Schwellenbach, somehow reminiscent, in baggy suit, of the Scarecrow of Oz, and Fred Vinson, explaining in a Kentucky drawl the secret of his rugged determination against a pressure group: "You know —where I come from it was dangerous to be afraid."

Some chapters show a slight tendency to padding and fine writing. But I know of no better explanation of the ideological differences between Justices Black and Frankfurter (with fairness to both), or of the place of lobbyists in the Washington scene, with accent on accordion-playing Tommy Corcoran, always "insistently young beyond forty," or of the institution of the presidency, where some delegated powers stay delegated, but others "come roaring back through the anteroom to the President's desk."

Daniels, like Adams, has a gift for the phrase, whether it is to describe "the spinsterish respectability of the Cosmos Club," the over-grand Supreme Court building, looking like what Publix-Paramount would have built if Congress had given them $9 million, or his comment on a stiff ambassador, "If he had not been a career diplomat I should have said he was sweating."

It is a vivid piece of subjective literary photography with occasional anecdotes of great interest.

RICHARD LEE STROUT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Some Like Them Cold

THE O. Henry Memorial Award Volume for 1946 (Doubleday, $2.50) left me with an impression that Herschel Brickell, accompanied by his assistant and three judges, James Gray, Helen Hull and Hudson Strode, has come with quite other intentions than to praise the best in recent fiction. As a result, the seven stories that represent various degrees of life seem to be backed into a corner at a wake.

To speak first of the living, "Miriam," by Truman Capote, is content to say "Boo!" but has the best quality of children's drawings. "Sex Education," by Dorothy Canfield—three perspectives of a young girl's sexual terror—is shrewd and excellently jointed. "Breathe Upon These Slain," by Meridel LeSueur, will be mentioned later. "A Sketching Trip," by Eudora Welty, is a brilliant, feverish story about the decay of the South. Andrew Lytle's "The Guide" is a profoundly intuitive dry-point study of a young boy's coming of age. "The Imaginary Jew," by the poet John Berryman, says eloquently and with freedom of form all that Arthur Miller left unsaid in his novel, *Focus*. And "The Innocents," the first story published by M. P. Hutchins—the only serious new writer presented in this anthology, because the four other beginners are apprentices to a trade—is a wonderful, spontaneous act of feeling, insight, imagination and style.

But the other fifteen stories lie stone-cold dead in the literary market because their authors have not chosen to sound their experiences and to make of them art. Most of them are written in the key of the first-prize "Bird Song," by John Gross, one of three unconvincing stories concerning the emotionally ill. This pastiche, about a psycho-neurotic who leaves the hospital for a day and returns in panic to the sheltering companionship of the insane, is written to formula, less to capture insights than to avoid them. And this is a strategy of avoidance which underlies all the com-

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plete or partial failures. The second-prize story, "Innocent Bystander," by Margaret Shedd, about a compulsively neat medical officer who shoots dogs to prevent the spread of rabies, only approaches a knowledge of good-and-evil. And what is declined in "Waves of Darkness," by Cord Meyer, who received the special prize for a first published story, is the taste of death, which, on the contrary, is so fully felt in Meridel LeSueur's "Breathe Upon These Slain."

Miss LeSueur's, incidentally, is the only one of nine stories whose setting is the war, or its fringes, that states what there was to be resolved in that struggle; and yet her love of democracy is so much a matter of slogans that, like a radio commercial, it disrupts the concert of her sensibility and style.

In many of these fifteen stories, there are traces of life; there are tenderness, understanding, humor, a love of language, and organic form—one or two at a time, and not in the right combinations—in the stories by Kay Boyle, Frank Brookhouser, Elizabeth Enright (who, with Marjorie Rawlings and Irwin Shaw, writes about racial prejudice), Elizabeth Hardwick (who is not at her best) and David Savler. But they do not, really, leave any mist on the mirror.

They are less than life, these entertainments, so skillfully balanced upon story devices, because they are adapted to that large, middle-class audience which, in the presence of painful realities, keeps its fingers in its ears. These stories appeared in the near-slicks that only occasionally allow the velvet curtain to lift, such as *Harper's*, the *Atlantic*, *Harper's Bazaar* and the *New Yorker* (while the three best stories were in the *Kenyon Review* and the *Sewanee Review*). Is it unkind to suggest that the writers for this market have a lot in common with the readers?

EVASION, again, is what characterizes *An Afternoon*, a collection of short stories by Elizabeth Parsons (Viking, $2.50). The typical characters are trapped middle-class adults, young girls or children who, in almost hypnotic moments, look about the world before they retreat into the polite horrors of their cages. Told with tenderness, intuition and an ear for prose rhythm, these stories have potentialities which never quite become actual, because the subtleties are largely those of construction and the conflicts those of plot. Eight stories concern vacations or trips, and one can't help wishing that Miss Parsons would bring her talents home.

In the first two-thirds of Rhys Davies' *A Trip to London* (Howell, Soskin, $2.50) one feels that he, too, has been taking a vacation from life. And this would be a great loss because Davies, a hero of the Welsh literary renaissance, had, in his early work, something akin to Sholom Aleichem's feeling for a place and a people as conveyed through language. But when, in the nine of these stories which won't enhance his reputation, Davies still writes of his Valley, he is less native than a guide. And then, toward the end of these somewhat tired performances, there leaps onto the stage what is by comparison an extraordinarily vital if angular story about the bombing of London and its ruined intellectuals, "Le Spectre de la Rose," which, full of style and the sound of years, plays against the love of death, responsibility to life.

Who are the "thieves in the night" in Palestine?

AMERICANS LIKE MATTHEWS?

"I've been down the Jordan Valley and up in Galilee and in the Jezreel Valley and in the Hulah swamps. Those are some guys. They're a new type. They've quit being Jews and become Hebrews. . . I haven't seen the Arabs producing anything worth showing off, except cabarets and filthy postcards, from Tangier to Teheran—not for the last thousand years."

ENGLISHMEN LIKE SMITH?

"We are extremely sorry for the Jews, and it may not be irrelevant to point out that in aiding Jewish refugees Great Britain has played a larger part than any other country in Europe — or outside Europe, if it comes to that. . . However, we cannot afford to antagonize the Arab world for the sake of the Jews . . ."

Arthur Koestler, by the magic of a great novelist's art, breathes life into the people involved in the Palestine conflict — Jews, Arabs, British, and Americans alike — and makes them understandable in this, his greatest novel!

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MACMILLAN

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The volume ends with "Orestes," a story about a young man who hopes to find in a cold, former prostitute an escape from the mother he kills. It manages to contain within 64 pages an even subtler insight than that of *Sons and Lovers* and, completely satisfying in its awareness of interrelationships, is loud with the knocking of tragedy. In the field of short fiction, these two stories are much needed demonstrations of what it is to transcend virtuosity.

JOHN H. PORTER

War and Science

Scientists Against Time, by James Phinney Baxter III. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown and Company. 473 pages. $5.

THE NATURE of war has always been conditioned by the technology of its participants, whether it provided for the use of a shield, a longbow, a tank or an atomic bomb. But in few conflicts prior to this last was the state of the technology so decisive or did victory balance so delicately on the efforts of the scientists. For Britain was saved by her radar as much as by her airmen, the submarine was defeated in the radar and aeronautical laboratories, and the last real German threat lay in the use of the flying bomb, the rocket and jet aircraft.

How we mobilized our scientific resources for war is the subject of this book, the official story of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, the agency created by President Roosevelt to handle the job. It was a civilian agency administered by the scientists themselves, working in more or less close liaison with the Army and Navy. Perhaps the most important decision it made was that the research would be done best if the scientists remained civilians and worked in their peacetime laboratories. For there are hints in the book that it was often difficult to get the military to adopt new programs and devices, and scientists who have worked in Army research laboratories will testify that the atmosphere of military conservatism and inertia is not one which initiative and boldness in investigation find most congenial.

In order to plan the research, committees of specialists, with representatives of the services, were formed. The committees outlined the anticipated needs of the forces, and on the basis of intelligence reports tried to foresee the countermeasures we should take to render the discoveries of the enemy ineffective. The money and allocations for the materials were then let in contracts with the university and industrial laboratories, and some idea of the magnitude of the operations will be gained from the fact that the five largest university contractors were assigned 381 projects with a total value of $274 million.

The results were impressive. Out of the research came the implements without which it is likely we should have lost the war—the improved search and navigational radar, the anti-submarine devices, the tools for the devastating air war, rockets, proximity fuses and a host of others. The accomplishments in medicine alone, which are already in peacetime use, were great. The development of blood substitutes, penicillin and the insecticides for combating disease carriers was accelerated by many years, and one can only guess how long the discovery of the new anti-malarial drugs would have been deferred. As a specific and concrete achievement of this research we now approach the possibility of preventing a large proportion of the malaria which infects 300 million people and causes three million deaths yearly.

If the book were only a historical record of war research and a clear description of our newer war implements, it would serve a useful purpose. But it is more. Every page raises the obvious question, why should the demonstrated advantages of coöperative planning in science not be utilized during peace? As they return to the problems put aside during the war, will the scientists forget the fruitfulness of coöperative effort and the personal satisfactions to be derived from the use of science for society? At present, only they have the answer.

MILTON MAZER

All in the Family

The Selected Writings of John and John Quincy Adams. Edited with an Introduction by Adrienne Koch and William Peden. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 415 pages. $4.50.

THERE is a special sense of loneliness about an Adams. From the first President John down to Henry of the *Education,* there is the unmistakable stamp of the tragic hero, never fully realized in any one of them but always present in them all. The Adams quality does not lend itself to description, but it can be recognized as it passes from father to son if one has the time and patience to read the voluminous letters, state papers and journals that they produced and then edited for each other. The story is well documented and the documents have been preserved with loving care.

Attempts have been made before this to simplify the problem by means of biographies and selected volumes of correspondence, but in none of these books is the whole story told within reasonable scope by the participants themselves. Either the biographer speaks for his subject, or the subject tells, as in the case of the Adams-Jefferson correspondence, only a small part of the story. In the present selection, the personalities of the two Presidents and the relationship between father and son provide the thread upon which a variety of Adams ideas are strung in chronological sequence. The result is something very like a joint autobiography which comes near to being a composite family portrait.

The thesis upon which these early Adamses built their lives and persistently tried to build their country is that God created man and bestowed upon him the primitive rights of freedom and equality as laws of nature, but that these rights can be exercised effectively in society only through the delegation of authority to those who have proved themselves especially fit to wield it. An implicit corollary is that the Adamses themselves are preëminently of this class. Thus a system of natural aristocracy is built upon an equalitarian social base, a deistic theology and a Puritan morality, plus a sense of personal election. In the turgid times when the nation was forming, John Adams preached and practised his doctrine without concession to man or party. Mainly Federalist in principle, he fought with the

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Federalists as well as with the Republicans. To his son he bequeathed his confidence that an Adams is always right, and prepared the stage for the tragedy of John Quincy's political defeat. In succeeding generations, the heroic integrity of the Adams conviction became finally a godlike detachment, which, in the fourth generation, was wholly literary and philosophical. The transition from constant participation in affairs of state to defeat and removal, as told by the letters and papers of the two Presidents, is the first step in understanding this central and tragic chapter in American cultural history.

In this volume of selections, the documents are well chosen to tell the story even though their variety and the brevity of most of them give an unavoidably choppy effect. The slightly facetious tone of the introduction fails to supply the needed sense of importance and unity in the Adams line. The volume is therefore slightly disappointing, even though it performs its self-appointed task. Perhaps this is the only way it could have been done; at all events, we are the richer for it. ROBERT E. SPILLER

A Reader's List

Leviathan in Crisis, edited by Waldo R. Browne (Viking, $3.75). This collection of fifty-four essays by philosophers, anthropologists, social scientists and legal theorists of many nationalities is fairly representative of the wide variety of twentieth-century attacks on the all-powerful, sovereign state. Leviathan appears in all its nakedness, without its fictitious, theological and legalistic ornaments. The book is a powerful weapon of criticism in the hands of the layman who cannot possibly read the many long and often highly technical treatises on the subject.

B. F.'s Daughter, by John P. Marquand (Little, Brown, $2.75). Another of Marquand's slick and skillful novels on the care and feeding of the upper-middle classes. For the first time his central character is a woman, the daughter of a self-made industrialist, who—to Marquand's evident disapproval—marries a New Deal "bureaucrat" instead of the Groton-Yale aristocrat she should have chosen. Had she done so, Marquand of course would have had little left to pin his slight tale to. The by-now familiar blend of sympathy and satire (here directed largely at the war's civilian casualties) wears thin after four hundred pages, but there is no fear that the Literary Guild and the retail booksellers will have any trouble selling well over a million copies by Christmas. Readers of this magazine will be amused or annoyed at a few gentle thrusts at the *New Republic*.

Their Mother's Sons, by Edward A. Strecker, M.D. (Lippincott, $2.75). Dr. Strecker, a well known and experienced psychiatrist, marshals the evidence for an indictment of a significant proportion of the mothers of America. The result is a damning charge against the type of mother who because of her neurotic drives prevents the development of emotional maturity in her sons. Such mothers he calls "moms," as others, notably Philip Wylie, have done before. It is an indictment, too, of the mother surrogates—the fathers, grandmothers and aunts who assume the role, and of authoritarian units (army) and of national systems (dictatorship) which may act in the same capacity. But even more it is a bill of particulars drawn up against a social system which forces so many mothers to become "moms," thereby fostering in the next generation precisely those qualities of immaturity in the individual to which the author ascribes many of the present ills of our society. Had it not been written by a psychiatrist it might have become an angry book. As it is, it is a book which will make many mothers angry. And as Dr. Strecker says, it is likely that those whom it will most enrage are the "moms."

Victory Over Pain, by Victor Robinson, M.D. (Schuman, $3.50). General anesthesia during surgery was introduced only a hundred years ago. Before that, a surgeon required almost as much fortitude as his patient, and as a result, speed was more important than skill. With the introduction of ether in 1846 a new era in surgery began, and other substances were soon found to have similar qualities. But the battle was not yet won. Conservatism, both religious and secular, stood in the way of the use of anesthesia during childbirth, for did not the Bible say, "In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children"? Finally, the battle was won: Queen Victoria accepted the beneficent drug for the birth of two of her children. But the struggle for the credit of discovery lasted many years, and was attended by charlatanism, searing enmities and insanity (both Dr. Horace Wells and Dr. C. T. Jackson went mad). Dr. Robinson has blended a nice mixture of science and people in his history of the victory over pain.

The Challenge of Marriage, by Rudolf Dreikurs, M.D. (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, $3). It is inevitable that a society undergoing rapid and fundamental cultural change should produce stresses and cleavages which affect marriage profoundly. This thoughtful study of marriage in contemporary society considers it as a personal relationship within the fabric of a complex and frustrating culture, and therefore approaches the discussion from the viewpoint of the sociologist and anthropologist as well as that of the psychoanalyst. The role of the sexual disturbances—lack of interest, aversion, impotence and frigidity—is discussed and the author points out that these are not in themselves the cause of so-called sexual incompatability,

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but rather are the consequence of a disturbance in interpersonal relations. He emphasizes the influence of the changing status of women on the problems of marriage and parenthood. For just as the problems of marriage occur because of tensions within the unit called society, so are the failures of parenthood due to stresses within the smaller social unit, the family. However, a recognition of the causal relationship between the nature of society and the disturbances in the individual does not imply that an improvement in the latter must await a radical change in the structure of society. For society is man-made and its rationalization may start at any point in the man-society complex. Dr. Dreikurs' book is a challenge to the individual to start with himself.

New Republic News

The normally serene *NR* office went into a state of emergency last Tuesday morning. Small armies of men, heavily armed with flash guns, poured out of the elevators and deployed themselves in strategic locations. Every time our elevator man shouted from his shaft the warning of his arrival—a precaution made necessary by push-button trouble—they cocked their cameras for action. Their quarry was Henry A. Wallace. For this was his first day of work as editor of the *NR*, although he doesn't officially take over until the December 16 issue.

The whole *NR* staff, of course, was on hand to watch his entrance and ambush. As the photographers' sheet lightning played around him, Wallace was whisked off to a press conference, where more photographs were taken: Wallace sitting at the teletype connecting with our Washington office (the cameramen didn't ask if he could use it), Wallace standing up, looking right, left (the *Daily News* picture showed him looking slightly Left), up and down. Some photographers stood on chairs for a better angle; others preferred to shoot from shoe level.

One-column handshakes were the order of the day. (A one-column handshake involves the subjects standing so closely together that their shoulders overlap, whereupon they contort their elbows in order to clasp hands. The picture can then fit into one newspaper column—very economical.) We sadly report that some of our staff members proved to be camera hogs. They sneaked into the pictures.

These preliminaries having been dispensed with, the procession adjourned to the Waldorf for a luncheon for magazine and newspaper editors, welcoming Wallace into the fraternity. There Wallace told the editors and reporters that he could not have chosen a more opportune time to enter the field of liberal journalism. He foresaw the possibility that under Republican control, the government would probably repeat the mistakes which resulted in the last depression.

The *Herald Tribune* headlined its story: "New York Press Greets Wallace In His New Job." But the New York *Daily News*, ever in search for the right knock-boost combination, made out pretty nicely with: "Wallace Singing Blues After GOP Victory."

• • •

In the *New Republic* for October 21 Malcolm Cowley stated that the circulation of the *Ladies Home Journal* is 4.1 million. Mr. Cowley used the latest available published record, that of January 1 of this year. Since then, however, we learn that the circulation of the LHJ has increased, and is now 4.7 million.

• • •

Charles Miller wrote a column on jazz for the Harvard *Crimson* and has worked for Paramount News. He is now writing for radio.

Richard Lee Strout, for many years the Washington correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, is a frequent contributor to the *New Republic*.

John H. Porter is a free-lance writer who lives in New York City.

Milton Mazer is a physician who has published articles in medical journals and short stories in the *New Yorker*, *Esquire* and *Direction*.

Robert E. Spiller, the author of *The American in England*, and the editor of *Esther*, by Henry Adams, is professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania.

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